than the will of the Government—'Bland statement, bland statement, bland statement'. I would like to congratulate the people of this country. If today there is harmony, it is not because of the Government or because of us. At times people say, "In spite of us", I would just like to say that there is something called accountability.

सर, घर में यदि हम दरबान रखते हैं तो उसका दायित्व बनता है कि हमारे सेफ्टी-सिक्युरिटी रहे। यदि सरकार है तो उसका दायित्व बनता है और कहीं न कहीं एकाउंटेब्लिटी आती है।

सर, मैं जानता हूं कि समय नहीं है, इसलिए मैं आखिर में कहना चाहता हूं कि श्री राम जेठमलानी जी ने बड़ी अच्छी बात कही और दूसरे लोगों ने भी कहा कि We penetrate the criminal organisation. I want to tell you and everybody knows, that it is the criminal organisation which has penetrated us, including this Parliament. I am not saying that. It is the Vohra Committee Report which says so. I have to go to the Supreme Court. I would like know from the hon. Minister as to what they have done on the recommendation of the Vohra Committee. Government after Government came. The NDA also was there. But they also did not do anything. What have you done? I have written letters, but there was no response. Very casually, you come here and say, "Maoist is there." But you cannot substantiate. And, as rightly said by the hon. Member, Shahidji, even those guys, who are not criminals, you are forcing to take up that. Here, my dear friend, Yechuryji said, 'Islamic fundamentalists', and today, he says that we should not use such words. Sir, I want to speak a lot, but as I have promised, I will not take much time. I want to know what the accountability of the Government is. Can they say: "Yes; this is it. We are not going to see this day again."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The reply will be at 6 O' clock. Now, the hon. Minister to move the Resolution.

GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION

Proclamation issued by President on 20th November, 2007, under Article 356 of Constitution in relation to State of Karnataka

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL): Sir, I rise to move:

> "That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 20th November, 2007, under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Karnataka."

As the hon. Members are aware, election to constitute the Legislative Assembly of Karnataka was held in April, 2004. The election resulted in a hung Legislative Assembly in the State. On 28th May, 2004, a coalition Government, comprising Janata Dal (S) and the Congress (I) was formed. However, in January, 2006, a group of 39 MLAs of JD (S) led by Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy broke away form the alliance and formed a Government, with the support of BJP, with Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy as the Chief Minister. There was an understanding betwen the two coalition partners that the JD (S) would hold the Chief Minister's post for the first 20 months and the BJP for the next 20 months. The period of 20 months for the JD (S) ended on 3rd October, 2007. Seventy-nine MLAs of BJP presented before the Governor and withdrew the support to the coalition Government on 6th October, 2007. On 8th October, 2007, the leaders of the Congress (I) party also submitted a memorandum to the Governor stating that the Ministry headed by Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy had been reduced to a minortiy and demanded the dismissal of the Government. Thereafter, the Chief Minister met the Governor and submitted his resignation on 8th October, 2007. The Governor, in his Report, dated 8th October, 2007, recommended invoking the President's rule in the State of Karnataka as there was no possibility of any party or person being in a position to form a Ministry with a majority support in the Assembly. The Report of the Governor was considered by the Union Government and the President's rule was proclaimed on 9th October, 2007 in the State of Karnataka under article 356 (1) of the Constitution keeping the Legislative

Assembly under suspended animation. In view of the political developments in the State, after the imposition of President's rule, the Union Government was informed by the Governor on 27th October, that a group of JD (S) and BJP leaders met him and staked their claim to form a Government led by the BJP leader, Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa. On 29th October, 2007, the JD (S)-BJP combine submitted 129 letters of individual support to the Governor—79 BJP, 41 JD(S), 3 JD(U) and 6 independents—and also signed in the register at Raj Bhawan. The Governor also indicated that there were a few MLAs and leaders like Shri M.P. Prakash, Shri P.G.R. Scindia and several academicians and eminent men who urged him not to... *(Interruptions)* the coalition arrangement and call for fresh elections. He also stated that the JD(S) President and former Prime Minister, Shri H. D. Devegowda had written to the Prime Minister suggesting dissolution of the House. Besides, the Governor's report also includes a draft MoU sent by Shri H.D. Devegowda to the BJP National President, Shri Rajnath Singh, imposing conditions for the coalition which was contrary to the unconditional support given to him earlier by 129 MLAs supporting the coalition. The Governor concluded that in spite of his reservations about stability, keeping in view the imperatives of the democratic option, with reference to the numerical strength, the President may consider offering an opportunity to Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa to form the Government and revoke the Presidential proclamation. Accordingly, the Union Government considered the report of the Governor and revoked the President's Rule in the State of Karnataka on 12th November, 2007. Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa took oath on 12th November, 2007 and inducted four Ministers from the BJP. The Governor in his report dated 19th November, 2007 stated that the Chief Minister was given eight days' time from the date of assumption of the office of the Chief Minister to prove his majority on the floor of the House. Accordingly, the Karnataka Legislative Assembly was summoned at 1.00 a.m. on 19th November, 2007. Prior to the vote of confidence on 19th November, 2007, the JD(S) reportedly issued a whip to JD(S) legislators to vote against the confidence motion. The forenoon session of the Assembly commenced with the reading of obituaries. The House was adjourned after that. At 3.05 p.m., the House was reconvened and the confidence moton was tabled. The Chief Minister spoke at length about the cooperation rendered by the JD(S) during the past 20 months and highlighted his party's achievements during his tenure as the Deputy Chief Minsiter.

However, the Congress Members, Shri Dharam Singh and Shri Mallikarjun Kharge, sopke casually about the Government seeking the confidence motion when the coalition partner had itself issued a whip against it. Subsequently, Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa got up to speak but left midway stating that he was leaving for Raj Bhawan to tender his resignation and did not want any further discussion on the confidence motion. The Speaker adjourned the House at 4.40 p.m. as the confidence motion had failed. The Governor in his support indicated that he had accepted the resignation tendered by Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa at 4.45 p.m. on 19th November, 2007. He was of the opinion that no party or individual is in a position to form the Government in the State of Karnataka with majority support and that he was satisfied that a situation had arisen in the State in which the Government of the State could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The Governor, therefore, recommended that President's Rule under article 356(1) of the Constitution of India may be imposed with immediate effect after dissolving/suspending the Legislative Assembly of the State of Karnataka. The Union Government considered the report of the Governor and proclaimed President's Rule in the State of Karnataka under article 356(1) of the Constitution on 20th November, 2007 keeping the Legislative Assembly under suspended animation. With these words, I commend, Sir, that the Proclamation issued on 20th November, 2007

4.00 P.M.

under article 356(1) of the Constitution in relation to the State of Karnataka be approved by this august House. A copy of the Proclamation as stipulated under the Constitution along with the Consequential order has been placed on the Table of the House on 21st November, 2007. In keeping with the convention, a copy of the Governor's report recommending issuance of the Proclamation is also place on the Table of the House. It is clear from the current political situation that there is no likelihood of any Government being formed in the State of Karnataka. Once the august House approves the Proclamation, the intention of the Government is to dissolve the Legislative Assembly in the State of Karnataka.

The question was proposed.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU (Karnataka): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. I agree with the contention of the Government that in the present situation that there is no possibility of any stable or meaningful Government to be formed in the State of Karnataka.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) in the Chair].

The only way is to go in for fresh elections in the State of Karnataka. Sir, while discussing it, we must understand what has happened. In 2004.... Sir, my friend is also standing and I am also standing ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Because he is your friend.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: He is my friend and a good friend also. He is a good person also. Though may not be in good party, but he is a good man.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Poducherry): Thank you for your good certificate with bad intention. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, I would like to have the attention of the hon. Home Minister. Sir, I would like the hon. House to understand the background of the present move of this Government.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, I seek your permission to go to the other House.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: If the other Minister is here, fine. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The Minister of State for Home Affairs is here. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, I would recall that the Karnataka Legislative Assembly elections were held along with the Lok Sabha elections. In 2004, when elections were held to the Karnataka Assembly, the Congress was in a comfortable majority in the State of Karnataka. It had, Sir, in the outgoing House more than 160 MLAs, out of 224. But in the elections, the people's verdict was very clear that the Congress Party was rejected by the people, because from 160 plus its strength had come down to 65. Almost 100 seats they lost. So, that means, the verdict of the people was 'no' to the Congress Party. But, Sir, unfortunately, as usual, the Congress Party using its own methods had manipulated the mandate of the people and came to power through backdoor in the State of Karnataka.

SHRI SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK (Goa): You had an MoU with your coalition partner. ...*(Interruptions)*... It was written on the paper. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You can reply when your turn comes. ...*(Interruptions)*... No disturbance, please.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Did the people of Karnataka give the mandate to the BJP at that time? ...*(Interruptions)*... No, no; let him answer this point.

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि (उड़ीसा): लोक सभा में 18 सीटें आईं। ...(**व्यवधान**)... लोक सभा में 18 सीटें आईं।

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: He is saying this thing about the Congress. Did the people of Karnataka give the mandate to the BJP? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You can reply when your turn comes. Please continue.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, If my friends don't understand arithmetic, don't know the numbers, I cannot help it. Sir, in the Lok Sabha elections ...*(Interruptions)*... Their point is, either they should rule or nobody should rule or they should rule through backdoor. That has been their practice. Sir, the BJP, out of 28 Lok Sabha seats, got 18 Lok Sabha seats from the Karnataka State. The Congress Party's strength came down from 160-plus to 65. BJP's strength has gone up from 44 to 79. And, our ally, JD(U) got 5. That means the figure of 84 seats is more than the figure of 65. If my figures are right, I think, they will appreciate my point. Please try to bear with me.

Sir, they were the ruling party and the ruling party has been reduced to minority. We were the opposition Party. Our strength got increased. But, at the same time, the people of Karnataka did not give the full mandate to any political party. The BJP emerged as the largest single party with an ally having 5 MLAs, making it 84. But 84 was short of majority. You need 113 to rule the State of Karnataka. No party was given the full manadate BJP getting 84, Congress getting 65, and JD(S) at that time having 58. That was the scenario.

At the same time, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the House that both BJP and JD(S) contested elections against the Congress party. We were non-Congress parties, opposition parties. They were the ruling party and they lost the mandate. What I am trying to say is, people had rejected them in 2004. That is my first point.

My second point is, after that, whatever may be the reasons, Congress party and JD(S) came together and formed a Government headed by Shri Dharam Singh. Sir, that Government also did not run its full term. Whatever may be the reasons, I do not want to go into the reasons. At the end of it, JD(S) MLAs said that they had been humiliated and their party was split by the Congress party, and the Congress encouraged defections; that is why, they totally disgusted with the Congress party and they came out and said that they also had non-Congress blood in their veins, they made statements and I have relevant quote from the leader of that party also. Then, they said that they wanted to put an end to Congress rule in the State.

So, that being the case, the BJP thought, at that time after 20 months, that still 40 months were there, we thought, people normally did not favour frequent elections and MLAs too were not willing to face elections at that time. That was the mood at that time. Keeping that in mind, the BJP extended support to JD(S) to form a Government under its leadership. Sir, again I want to remind the number; we were 79, JD(S) MLAs—whether came out of their parent organisation or split the parent organisation, whatever it is, it is their internal matter—were around 40. We joined together and we gave a solemn assurance to the people of Karnataka that we would rule the State and we would have a Common Minimum Programme.

We presented the Common Minimum Programme before the people and we came to an understanding that the Government's first turn of 20 months would be headed by JD(S) and the next turn would be headed by the Bharatiya Janata Party.

Accordingly, Sir, for 20 months, both JD(S) and BJP ruled the State and given to the people of the State a good governance. Many developmental activities were initiated, many welfare programmes were announced and also implemented; the people were by and large happy. That was evident by the results of the local body elections also, I am not going into the history in depth. That is very clear because both BJP and JD(S) though contested differently, we accounted for the 2/3rd and the Congress 1/3rd of the local body election results.

That being the case, Sir, afterwards when 20 months were completed, we expected JD(S) to honour its public commitment which was given to the people, to support the BJP Chief Minister. That did not happen. As that did not happen, they had gone back on their word and they were delaying it, and then we decided that we should not be part of that Government which did not honour the agreement. Accordingly, we have communicated the same to the hon. Governor, as rightly said by the hon. Home Minister, and subsequently the Chief Minister had to resign and then the Governor was faced with a situation that the Chief Minister had resigned and there was no alternative Chief Minister forthcoming at that time. At that time, I would like to stress this point: BJP said that because the JD(S) betrayed it, there was no other way but to go to the people. We started a Dharma Yatra also. We were approaching the people. There was tremendous enthusiasm among the people in favour of the BJP, and there was a groundswell of sympathy for the BJP because that largest single party, at the first instance, was denied an opportunity and at the second instance also, it had agreed to make a junior partner as the Chief Minister, and at the third instance, when its turn came, it was once again betrayed. That was the mood of the people.

We were going ahead with approaching the people because, you know, Sir, in democracy, there is no other way and when you do not get justice, you go to the people. We were approaching the people. At that time what had happened again that is another interesting thing the House has to take note of. At that time the Congress Party once again started its machinations and again started trying to woo certain sections of the JD(S) MLAs. They have openly invited certain JD(S) leaders to Delhi to hold talks to form an alternative Government. They were rejected at the first instance; secondly, they manoeuvred the mandate; thridly, they failed and fourthly, again they tried to again form the Government in the State of Karnataka. This was there is the back of our mind. On 27th of October I happened to be in Bangalore. The JD(S) leadership approached us saying, "No, no whatever has happened has happened. Now we have realised that the Congress party instead of agreeing to the recommendations of going for dissolution and election is trying to split our party, so, we feel that we should not allow this to happen." So, they approached us. I was there personally, they approached me, and I said, "We had enough experience, there is no need to have one more experiment in this regard." But they said, "No, Sir, see that M.P. Prakash, one of the leaders of the JD(S) has been called to Delhi, and then senior Congress leaders they were holding consultation. They are bent upon splitting our party and they want to come to power once again through backdoor methods." This is the reality and they said, "We have learnt by our experience, we stand by you and we are extending unconditional support." Sir, because personally I was present a lot of debate is taking place across the country, I would like to make three things clear. First thing to ask them is: Is your National

President in agreement with this? The answer was, 'yes'. Second, what is the basis of forming the Government again? They said, "the same basis of 2006 January where both the parties came together and gave a solemn assurance to the people." Third thing, I asked what about the so-called reports appearing in the Press? They said, "no conditions, it is an unconditional support." They gave a letter, Sir. The letter is also with me. After that I discussed my Parliamentary Board and the Parliamentary Board came to the conclusion that 'though we were basically interested to go to the people, in order to thwart the attempts of the Congress Party which was again trying to hijack the mandate of the people, we have decided that we should step in and accept this offer and then form the Government." And for that the Congress people are saying that we are power hungry. You people have been rejected by the people, you lost the mandate, and still you came to power through backdoor. And you are accusing me. I am 80 you are 65. Are you power hungry or am I power hungry? For first 20 months I sat in opposition, for second 20 months I gave the leadership to JD(S) though they are only forty plus and you are saying that we are power hungry.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

The third instance, again, you have the audacity to publicly make efforts to split the JD(S) again and form the Government. At that situation, we agreed with this and, Sir, on 27th, we approached the hon. Governor and we informed him "both BJP and JD(S) are coming together without any conditions." We requested the Governor to invite Shri V.S. Yeddyurappa who is the leader of the single largest party and who is also head of the coalition of these two parties to form the Government. But unfortunately the Governor did not do anything. Secondly, on 29th, within two days of this, as we were sensing, certain developments were taking place at the national level and the manoeuvring of Congress Party still continuing, we went to Governor. All the 129 MLAs met the hon. Governor and also presented themselves and filed affidavits signed individually by each MLA before the hon. Governor to convince him, "Sir, here is a clear cut majority for these two parties; we have come together, there are no conditionalities attached. Invite Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa to form the Government." Fortunately, I was also there in Bangalore on that day. Sir, after that also nothing happened. The Government of India was still moving in the direction of manoeuvring the verdict of the people once again. Then we came here and met the hon. Prime Minister here. The hon. Prime Minister was kind enough to call the Home Minister also. The Leader of the Opposition, Shri Advaniji, our National President, Shri Rajnath Singh, I and our other senior leaders along with the Karnataka leaders, we went and met the hon. Prime Minister. We apprised the hon. Prime Minister that the Governor was unneccessarily delaying this matter. There was no reason for the Governor for delaying this matter. We also brought it to the notice of the hon. Prime Minister that the hon. Governor came to Delhi, held discussions and gave a statement on 24th October saying that nobody has approached him to form the Government and his first priority will be to exhaust the possibility for forming a popular Government.

That was the statement made on 24th and on 27th, we approach him. On 29th., we present ourselves. Nothing happens. Secondly, we are compelled to come to Delhi and meet the hon. Prime Minister and then, brief him about what are the things that are happening and told him. So, in between the AICC spokesperson under the Congress Party officially gave a statement saying that no popular Government is possible; dissolution of the House is the only remedy. This was the stand taken by the Congress party's official spokesperson. When you have an opportunity to form an alternative Government, no problem, but, when

others have an opportunity to have an alternative Government as per the original mandate of the people then you come in the way and demand dissolution of the House. After that, nothing has happened. So, we are compelled to get all the legislators to Delhi and we took the time from hon. Rashtrapathiji. Rashtrapathiji was kind enough to give time and we presented all our MLAs before Rashtrapathiji and apprised him of the developments and the background of what has happened in Karnataka and requested the President of India to intervene and advise the Central Government not to do politicking but accept the mandate of the people and invite Shri Yeddyurappa to form the Government. My point is, why this delay? We meet on 27th and you don't take steps to form the Government up to 9th of November. Why is this delay on the part of the Governor in between? We are sitting in the Council of States. The Governor is also responsible to the Centre. He is a Constitutional representative there. Why he took so much time? Is it not at the behest of the Congress Party? In spite of declaring on 24th October saying that he is waiting for somebody to stake claim, in spite of 129 MLAs coming and presenting themselves before you and filling individual affidavits, why should you take time? Are you bothered about letters written outside or to the President? Have you understood the spirit of S.R. Bommai case? Have you understood the spirit of hon. Supreme Court in the Bihar State Assembly dissolution case? Sir, in the case of Bihar Assembly dissolution, I would like to recall the memory of this House, Sir, at 2.30, the Governor sends recommendations and at 11 o'clock at night, the Union Cabinet meets, and at 1.55 a.m. in the morning the President's signature was obtained from Moscow. See the speed afternoon 2.30, evening 11. 0'clock and early morning 1.55, you complete the entire process and you want to deny the people of Bihar their right and you have dissolved the Bihar Assembly. Then, of course, you received a fax from the Supreme Court. I don't want to go into the details. But, at the same time, what has happened in the State of Jharkhand, the way in which the Governor behaved there also, came for judicial scrutiny. What has happened to the State of Goa? After the Chief Minister has proved his majority, you dismiss him and install somebody and give 30 days time. Same thing you did in Jharkhand also. But, here in Karnataka, from 27th to 9th November, you just wait and see that the move becomes a failure and you do not want any non-Congress Government to come in the State of Karnataka. Is the role of Governor not questionable? The Governor is only a *pathradhari,* all Governors for that matter, mostly in the Congress regime. The real *suthradhari* was sitting in Delhi. It is the Congress party in its high command which was manoeuring politics of Karnataka through backdoor methods. For that, they have taken such a long time. Otherwise, there was no explanation whatsoever. Sir, the hon. Supreme Court—I need not quote the judgements—while referring to the Bihar Assembly dissolution case said that whatever happens outside, even shifting of stand by political parties is no consideration for the Governor to arrive at an understanding. This is the crux of the judgment of the Supreme Court in the Bihar Assembly case. They went further. They even said allurements, defections, change of parties, loyalties. That is not the consideration. The Governor has to be satisfied about the numbers, that they have majority. That is the judgement. I am not going into the merits of the other part of the judgment. But the question is, when it is very clear he was saying, "no, no, Governor is verifying whether the letter which was written earlier..." The letter was written to the hon. Prime Minister of India. It is a political letter written between two politicians. It was not a representation made before any Constitutional authority. You try to refer to that letter and then, delay it and Sir, there also, the letter was supposed to be written on 24th after the BJP and JD(S) staked claim, the endorsement for that letter was sent on 27th night at 11 o' clock. See the intention. If at all Raj Bhawan is so prompt enough to endorse letters, he would have given endorsement on the

same day. You wait because now that the other side has mustered enough strength and they are coming together, there is a possibility of BJP-JD(S) forming the Government.

And, now, you give the credence to that letter and cite it as a reason for the delay. But, compelled to that fact that we present ourselves before the Governor, we present ourselves before the hon. Rashtrapati and present ourselves before the entire nation and when the entire country was convinced that we had the number and it was an un-conditional support which was explained by the leader of the JD(S) also at that time, and when the Centre was left with no other option, finally, the Governor had allowed the formation of the Government led by Shri Yeddyurappa, leader of the BJP in the State.

Here, again, the third point I would like to draw the attention of this House is, as per the earlier record, in Goa, after dismissing, you had given time for a minority Government to prove its majority by manipulation. And, in Jharkhand, you did the same thing. Here, just now, the hon. Home Minister has said that the Governor had given the Chief Minister 8 days time! Why? When you have the crystal clear 129 MLAs presented themselves before you signing individual affidavits, when two political parties come and present letters of support to you, you give 8 days! Is it your mercy? क्या लोकतंत्र आपकी दयां और दाक्षिण्य से चलना है? आपके स्टेट में जहां आपके puppet व्यक्ति मुख्य मंत्री बनते हैं, जहां आप defections encourage करते हैं, वहां ज्यादा समय देते हैं, यहां समय कम देते हैं। समय कितना दिया, यह इश्यू नहीं है। But the point I want to say is that the Chief Minister, after taking the oath, said that he would like to take floor test on 23rd, because the JD(S) said that they would join on 21st. But, you said 'No. No 23rd. Do it on 21st.' Even if you give one day's time, if we are capable of proving our majority, we have to prove it. If we are not able to prove our majority, we have to go. We could not prove our majority because of the action of the other party. I agree. But, at the same time, I am asking about the stand of the Governor and how the institutions are being misused. Should we not take a serious not of what has happened in the State of Karnataka? Why 129 MLAs come to you with an understanding? They have an understanding and they ruled the State for 20 months. And, you give them 8 days or 9 days or 10 days and then for others, during the same regime of the UPA, you—the Governor of Jharkhand, the Governor of Goa—give enough time. Why is this double standard? Why is this opportunistic stand? Is it not the duty of the Central Government to explain to the people of the country? That is why I am raising this question. They have no answer whatsoever. They have the audacity now to come and tell the people, 'No, no.' Sir, in the meanwhile, they have announced, 'If the BJP-JD(S) forms the Government, we will go for a mass action.' And, they called for a massive rally at Palace grounds. Palace ground is the biggest ground in Bangalore. There is no crowd to support their claim. I don't want to count the numbers, because I leave it to the wisdom of the Congress leaders. They had announced that they were going to launch a State-wide rally and lakhs and lakhs of people were going to come. And, the Governor told that, "You are saying 'Chalo Rajbhawan.' They are launching a massive programme. It will lead to a law and order situation." Nothing has happened, because the Congressmen did not find any support from the people.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Lakhs of people turned up.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Some people have turned up like our friend Mr. Narayanasamy and various other leaders as they have to go and attend the rally. What can I do?

In between, the hon. Minister in the Prime Minister's Office, if I am correct, Mr. Prithviraj Chauhan, visits Bangalore, meets the Governor and holds discussions. There is nothing wrong in holding discussions. My point is the other side has a clear majority. You have been rejected by the people. You have lost the mandate. And, still you try to manipulate. You tried your best to prevent the formation of an alternative Government. What is this? What is the rationale? What is the morality in doing such things? Still, you call, 'The BJP is crazy. The BJP is power-hungry'. You dismissed more than 108 popularly-elected Governments and tried to come to power through backdoor. You don't have even majority at the Centre. You have alliance partners. You are depending on their support. If you simply say—if I go by the analogy of the Governor and the statement made by the Spokesperson of the Congress Party— that the JD(S) national President has written a letter to the hon. Prime Minister of India, I would say that there are so many letters and so many stands between the Congress Party and the Left. How many times they are meeting? The other day I saw a news item which says that the Coordination Committee of the Left and the Congress Party met and decided to meet on a particular day again to decide when to meet again. This is what is happening between these two parties. Without their support, you are not there and you are running such a coalition Government in a perfect manner, it is called the 'national coalition.' In the State, at least, there is an alternative. You can keep the Assembly in a Suspended Animation. Here are the parties of the Left Front which are supporting your Government. You did not take them into confidence. You go to international arena and sign an agreement and now you come back and trying to convince everybody! Is it the way to run a Government? Then, you are trying to preach morals to us; teach us how to run a Government, saying that you don't have a stable Government, and you don't have a right to comment. Once again, I am stressing upon the point that I had got more seats than you. You were in the ruling party. You had more than 165 seats. Now, you have been reduced to 65 seats... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You did not have the majority. If majority was there why did you seek the support of JD(S). Then, they withdrew their support. They did not trust you. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please let him continue... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: They trusted you.... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI PREMA CARIAPPA (Karnataka): You were there for twenty months. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: How many days? Earlier, we were there for thirteen days, and, then, came back for six years. Try to understand that. Yes, it happens. You have been in power for so many years. Still you leader has been defeated. You have been reduced to half, or, even less than that. All this is a part of history... *(Interruptions)*... Sir, I am saying the same thing. My point is, you were rejected by the people. Accept it with humility. You are saying that the party, which got more seats, is defeated. You are saying, "I am defeated; I am rejected; I am power hungry!" We sat in Opposition for forty-five years. We did not do this sort of compromise in *Sarkar* and hara-kiri, the way in which it was happening—one step forward, three steps backward, and making the situation awkward. We did not do it. Everybody knows what is happening in your Government. The entire country is watching. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: What about *Ram Mandir* and article 370, when you were in power ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Narayanasamy, please let him complete ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, I am happy that my friend, Narayanasamy, because he is *swami,* he wants *Ram Mandir.* We will move in that direction. We will do it. If not today, or, tomorrow, or, day after tomorrow, but the day is not far off when no force on the Earth will be able to stop the construction of Ram Temple at the birthplace of Lord Rama. *(Interruptions)* It is very clear ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, we are missing the focus ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: The Common Civil Code also was not proposed by the BJP. It was proposed by the founding fathers of our Constitution. Do you feel Mahatama Gandhi was wrong, Dr. Ambedkar was wrong, everybody was wrong, who had put in the Directive Principles of Directive Policy, who had put in the Common Civil Code? Even in the State of Goa, now, where is a Common Civil Code. Let us not ridicule. We did not have full majority, that's why we could not implement the agenda. But you have your Government, now. Narayanasamyji, have you been able to implement your agenda, in this Government? No, you can't, because you don't have the majority. You have do depend on your friends; you have to depend on political parties. You signed an agreement. Now, everybody is heckling you. Your own Cabinet Minister is criticising. That is the situation. So, don't get into that arena unnecessarily...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let us come back to Karnataka...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, I have enough patience. We had been in Opposition for 45 years. I am ready to have patience. But Mr. Narayanasamy interrupts me. I have no problem. It is a happy interruption...*(Interruptions)*... It is an interesting interruption. He is reminding us, time and again. I am thankful to him and other colleagues also.

My point is, instead of condemning this opportunism, instead of joining together the people's mood of condemning the betrayal, my Congress friends are deriving a satisfaction, which is called a vicarious satisfaction. The vicarious satisfaction is that the BJP has been denied after taking our support. So, they are very happy. Do you want such a situation to come here also? Are you waiting to come such a situation here also? We had, in good faith, accepted the JD(S). We had allowed them to rule the State for twenty months. We had given our full cooperation. We had performed our responsibility. Is it a big sin? Is it a big sin to expect that from a party, which takes our support for twenty months and enjoys power, to reciprocate the same after their tenure is over?

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN) in the chair].

Is it new to Indian politics? It is a betrayal. Do you want to heckle the other side? Do you want to enjoy this because it gives you vicarious satisfaction? If that is the mood of the Congress Party, I will leave it to the collective wisdom. I have no problem on that. We are very clear that the people are with us. An opportunity will come right now. Immediately after Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh, let us go to Karnataka. Let us meet the people of the State. They will give a clear-cut mandate this time. ...*(Interruptions)*...

Sir, Karnataka's BJP history is like this. We had four Members, we had 8 Members, we had 18 Members, we had 38 Members, we had 40 plus Members, and, now, we are having 80

Members. Next time, it will be mighty. This time, it was in Opposition, but next time, it will be in position. That is the position with regard to Karnataka. Nobody will be able to stop us. And, if you do more such things,—and for this drama, they bring the good names of Shri Rajasekharan, ...*(Interruptions)*... आप चिंता मत करिए ना, because of that only you are able to spend that money which we earned for the sake of the country, otherwise, you could not have done anything.

Sir, my point is, you try to bring in names of people, who had some reputation, and, then, try to suggest, one day this man will be the Chief Minister; one day that man will be the Chief Minister. Sir, there was a cartoon in the *Times of India*. I don't want to take big names in this House. The cartoon says this. They have put Mahatma Gandhi's photo and Rs. 1000 note and say, "I promise to pay the bearer Rs. 1000/-." And the latest cartoon was, they put a photo of JD(S) Leader and say, "I promise not to pay Rs. 1000 to the bearer of this letter." This is the way the people are ridiculing that Party; the JD(S) for betraying the BJP, after enjoying power. Now, again, you are trying to hold talks with them. You try to ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Why did you join them? ...*(Interruptions)*... You enjoyed it, for the first time, after 20 months. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I have not enjoyed anything....*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You enjoyed it.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, my entire approach is to prevent this party, which ruled and ruined the State of the country for more than 40 years. ...*(Interruptions)*... Since they have been known for manoeuvring politics and backdoor entry, we stepped in, otherwise, we were willing for election. You ask your Governor, you ask your Central Government, in the first instance, after Shri Kumaraswamy resigned, why you did not dissolve the Assembly. Why have you not called a special session of the Parliament? Why have you sent your Minister in PMO to Bangalore? Why did you invite Shri M.P. Prakash to come here to Delhi, and, then, made efforts to split that party? Mr. Deve Gowda, the President of the national Janata Dal, has gone on record saying that you tried to split his party. You have not been able to contradict it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please, sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... You can speak when your chance comes. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): Sir, what is this? What is this running commentary? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please, Mr. Narayanasamy ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: He is the Chief Whip, he should restrain himself, otherwise, what will happen is that when a speaker from the Congress Party will speak, he will face the same thing. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Venkaiahji, please proceed. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please stop it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: माननीय चीफ व्हिप जी, क्या आपके पास कोई सेना नहीं है जो आपको स्वयं लड़ना पड़ता है?...(**व्यवधान**)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Pani, allow him to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Pani, please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Venkaiah Naidu, please continue. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Siddiqui, please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, nobody can teach or preach lessons to the Congress Party. They are above everything. They are above everything. I am a small man, Samyji. I am a common man. You are a great Samy, and your party is also a great party. Everybody knows it. But, I am only trying to remind you what happened, from time to time, with regard to Jharkhand, with regard to Goa, with regard to Uttar Pradesh, with regard to other States also. ...*(Interruptions)*... Yes, Bihar and even Arunachal Pradesh also which you encouraged. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Narayanasamyji, please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: What has happened in Karnataka is a mockery of democracy. ...*(Interruptions)*... We are capable of taking them and his party on this. Let us not worry about that. My point is, what has happened in the State of Karnataka is a mockery of democracy. It is a betrayal of the worst kind. It is the lowest ebb of opportunist politics. The level of politics has gone down. The respect for politicians has also gone down. Unfortunately, in this country, if two or three or four people or one or two parties do this, it affects the entire politicians. When you go by flight, when you by train, when you travel in bus, or you meet people, they ridicule politicians, talk about our conduct, and political parties behaviours, it pains you. Because, you cannot say, this party, that man, this man, this exception, that exception; they won't believe that. You enjoyed power for 20 months. You took our support, and now you talk of conditionalities; sometimes, put this suggestion, and, sometimes, put those conditionalities. I would like to put on the record that the so-called conditionalities were not about people's welfare, were not about any public issue. Can there be any discussion on issues like "You give this portfolio, I enjoyed it for 20 months, and, again, you will be in the same portfolio." These are matters for mutual consultation by political parties. Some people are saying, they are trying to give an impression, as if we have failed to sign an MoU. MoUs are, normally for setting up a plant in Nandigram, Singur or some other place! This is how the Government and industries come together for an MoU. But I have never seen an occasion where somebody suggested that you sign an MoU for forming the Government, and in which you say that the posting of senior IAS and IPS has to be given to somebody, that too on the stamp paper. This never happens. What has happened to the solemn assurance given to the people of Karnataka in front of lakhs of people is there in front of us. So that being the case, the BJP leadership, after having consultation, decided not to accept this. Sir, in a coalition, I agree that there always has to be some give-and-take approach. We have seen the give-and-take approach of our hon. Prime Minister also, even of the Congress President. After having said that the people who are opposing nuclear deal are enemies of the nation and its development, finally they said "one issue is not the end of the life"! So, that sort of give-and-take approach we are seeing, in the present situation, in the Centre also. That being the case, you say that you are perfect; don't make any attempt; don't come anywhere near to power; don't even ask for reciprocation; you allow us continuously to rule the country and ruin the country. So, this

is the attitude. Our friends should understand that these people who have ruled the country for years together, and ruined the country, and now, they are again trying to divide us, ridicule us, and then say," only we can rule, nobody else can rule; otherwise, we would be back to rule through backdoor; this is not permitted. I am happy that wisdom has finally prevailed upon the Union Government. Having failed in their attempt to split JD(S) once again after this experiment, they have not learnt a lesson, even after having realised that this is not going to succeed. As there is all-round condemnation, they have now come forward and are saying, "if the House agrees for this Resolution that means, the Assembly of Karnataka will be dissolved." This is what the hon. Home Minister has said. He was compelled to say it, because they have exhausted all other methods. Had there been even one per cent of chance, they would not have left it. We have in front of us the live of what has happened in Jharkhand, Goa and also in Bihar. So, with all these experiences, if the Central Government today comes forward before this august House, and says that there is no other way than the dissolution, I am happy about it. That is the resolution of the House. We have to go to the people. Let us go and tell what all you want to talk about me and my Party, other Parties, your former friends, and would-be friend also whom you support as Prime Minister of India. You support him as Prime Minister of India. You have pulled him down, and, again, you entered an alliance with him, and Mr. Narayanasamy, you are saying, "Don't teach us, preach us and all." I am not preaching anything, as I told you, Sir. You have enough experience; we also have enough experience, and people have expeiences of both the sides. They have seen what it is. My Government led by Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa could not prove the majority on the floor of the House because the other side betrayed us. The betrayal is one of the major issues. And the backdoor manoeuvring politics of Karnataka, Congress Party headed and supported by Central leadership are all important issues. And the third issue is that Karnataka deserves a better treatment. Karnataka is a forward-moving State. It is a progressive State. A lot of people are looking towards Karnataka. Bangalore is an international destination. So, the people of Karnataka should have at the earliest an elected Government. 1st November was the Rajyotsav day. Sir, please note that these people have denied the people of Karnataka to have their own Government on the 1st November, which is the formation day of Karnataka. Secondly, they appoint in haste advisers also. That means, they have made up their mind. Without exhausting the possibility of formation of a popular Government, without inviting the single largest Party—whether I am able to prove the majority or not, you should leave it to me—even without doing it, you appoint Advisers. And, you start reviewing, you start holding meetings. This is a fascination for the Governor, for *janata darbars,* and holding all these review meetings. This is only a stop-gap arrangement. I am just concluding. This should be an eye-opener to others.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You can't criticise Governors' action.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, I am not taking names. I am talking about the institution. Yes, Governor's institution being reduced ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, please. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No; to criticise a Governor, there should be a substantive motion.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I have, I have, Sir. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No; no; on Governor's act. ...(*Interruptions*)...

that is not.. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, the Council of States has got a right.. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No; no; please sit down. ...(*Interruptions*)... that is between us. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: No; Sir, it is not between you, him and me. The point is, why we are discussing the issue that we are discussing at present is because it is an act of a Governor. ...(*Interruption*)... Certainly, we will discuss. Why will we not discuss? ...(*Interruptions*)... We have to discuss. ...(*Interruptions*)... It was not an Akashvani. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No; no; please don't make that an issue. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, when we are discussing the recommendations of the Governor, how is it that we will not mention the name of a Governor? ...(*Interruptions*)... What is this? ...(*Interruptions*)... What is it? ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You can mention. I said, "Don't criticise."

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, it is not an *Akashvani.* It is not an *Akashvani.* ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You know the rules. ...(*Interruptions*)... You know the rules. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, it is not an *Akashvani.* ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Venkaiahji is doing a good job. Please proceed. But how much more time do you need?

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, I am only talking about the misuse of the institution of the Governor. This is the point, not *per se* one individual who is sitting in Bangalore as on now. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: For that, there should be a substantive motion. ...(*Interruptions*)... You know the rules. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please proceed. ...(*Interruptions*)...

श्री एम॰ वेंकैया नायडु: हमें सिखाइए मत, हमें पढ़ाइए मत। If you want to discuss the individual conduct of an individual Governor, then you need to have a substantive motion. Sir, I mentioned Jharkhand, I mentioned Bihar, I mentioned Goa; I did not mention the names of those Governors who are actively getting indulged into politics and then there was attack on one of the Governors also because he was trying to do politicking in Dimapur. ...(*Interruptions*)... It is there in front of us, the other day, day-before-yesterday. ...(*Interruptions*)... Sir, the Sarkaria Commission said, "The party or combination of parties which commands the widest support in the Legislative Assembly should be called upon to form the Government." Did the Governor of Karnataka do this? He didn't. The second is this; "The Governor's task is to see that a government is formed and not to try to form a Government which pursue policies which he approves." This is another recommendation.

The third is, "if there is a single party having an absolute majority in the Assembly, the leader of the party should automatically be asked to become the Chief Minister." Then, it says, "If there is no such party, the Governor should select a Chief Minister from among the following parties or groups of parties by sounding them, in turn, in the order of preference indicated below." He did not do that. The Governor did not do it. That point was also not followed. When we made the last attempt of bringing all the Legislators and presenting them before the hon. *Rashtrapati* and the nation, they were forced or compelled, with no other alternative, except to invite us. That is the situation. They must understand it. The first thing here, Sir, is (i) "an alliance of parties that was formed prior to Elections." It was not formed. Neither Congress-JD(S) nor BJP-JD(S) has formed any alliance. Then, (ii) "The largest single party staking a claim to form the government with the support of others, including 'independents'." The BJP was the largest party. That also was not done. (iii) "The post-electoral coalition of parties, with all the partners in the coalition joining the government." That was our intention. In such a situation, in the Centre also, there are parties which have not joined the Government and the Government in the Centre is a minority Government thriving on the support of external parties, supporting from outside and not joining the Government. The CPI, the CPM, the RSP, the Forward bloc and other parties have chosen not to joint the Government but to support the Government in order to prevent the BJP. That is their stand. They have got every right to take that stand. Similarly, in order to prevent the Congress Party from staging a backdoor entry once again, we have decided to take the support of JD(S) legitimately which we had given to them for twenty months. They betrayed us. They have deceived. It is not Yeddyurappa personally who was deceived. Some people were saying. भा॰ज॰पा॰ का दक्षिण भारत में जो सपना था, वह साकार नहीं हो पाएगा। आप आने वाले चुनाव में देखेंगे कि सपना साकार हो गया है। उसका आकार भी साकार होगा और हम उसके प्रकार का भी पूरा निर्माण कर रहे हैं। जनता में हमारा समर्थन दिनों-दिन बढ़ रहा है और आनेवाले दिनों में हमें लोग स्पष्ट रूप से बहुमत देंगे। कारण यह है कि उन्होंने यह अपने अनुभव से देख लिया है।

The last point that I want to stress, Sir, is that why we need a clear-cut majority because the people have enough experience. If nobody gets majority, these sort of things are likely to happen. That is why, there is a need for a clear-cut majority for a particular party. Sir, which is the party which is the victim? Which is the party which is the front-runner? Which is the party which is the largest in the last year elections? It is the *Bhartiya Janata Party.*

I am sure, Sir that the people of Karnataka will give a clear-cut verdict in favour of *Bhartiya Janata Party.* I only urge upon the Government that once this House approves this Resolution today, don't dilly-dally the matter further because you have the courage, you have the conviction, you are taking the bold steps, you demanded the election earlier; so, fix the election date immediately at the earliest.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): It is already a part of the statement; it is already there.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, it is a part of the statement but holding elections is the only solution, because then they may wait for another six months and rule the State through the back door. This is the point I am trying to make; my point is, without loss of further time, they must approach the Election Commission and take steps. It is the Central Government which has to do this because once the Assembly is dissolved, there would be only the central Government is the picture. Please see to it that elections are held at the

earliest. If you are really interested, if you are really confident of facing the people, then, do not commit the mistake of again trying to prolong it on the plea that बीजेपी को सिम्पैथी मिलेगी। अगर अच्छा काम किया है, तो सिम्पैथी मिलेगी, किसी पार्टी के साथ अन्याय हुआ हो, तो सिम्पैथी मिलेगी। हमने अन्याय किसी के साथ किया नहीं, हमारे साथ अन्याय हो गया। हमने कुछ अच्छे काम भी किए हैं, हमारे मुख्य मंत्री ओर पहले उप मुख्य मंत्री के कारण हमारी लोकप्रियता बढ़ गई। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि in the interest of democracy, as per the spirit of the Constitution, keeping even the S.R. Bommai case and the Bihar Assembly dissolution case in mind, the Assembly should be dissolved forthwith and elections announced immediately.

With these words, Sir, I thank you for having given me this opportunity.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY (Karnataka): Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity. The hon. Member from Karnataka, who was born and bought up in Andhra Pradesh, got elected twice from Karnataka. He has made several charges against the Congress Party with a lot of vehemence.

Sir, the truth is not with him or with his party. In the initial stage, while presenting his case, he had admitted that there was no mandate. I would like to explain things to you and through you, to him and also to this august House. In the 2004 elections, BJP got 79 seats with 28 per cent of the votes; the Congress got 65 seats with about 36 per cent of the votes and the JD(S) got 58 seats with 20 per cent of the votes. For the information of the hon. Member, BJP has lost its deposits in 46 seats; JD(S) has lost deposits in 96 seats and the Congress has lost deposits in only 6 seats. This is the position. Nobody has been given the mandate, not the Congress, not the BJP and not the JD(S). But what had happened? The people of Karnataka did not want their party to run the Government. They are dubbed as communal foes. If the party is given the power, they would saffronise the entire State, as they have done...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: आप बताइए, यह कम्युनल फोर्स के क्या मायने है?...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI SURENDRA LATH (Orissa): The people have rejected you. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: I did not disturb anyone and heard with rapt attention ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: इस देश का बंटवारा किसने किया? इस देश का विभाजन किसने किया?...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो॰ पी॰ जे॰ कुरियन): प्लीज। आप बैठिए।...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI SURENDRA LATH: The people have rejected you. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please sit down...*(Interruptions)*... Please stop it, Mr. Pani. Don't make noise unnecessarily. What is this?

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Mr. Pany, I respect you. I am told that you are an honest and simple person and you are unmarried too! So, I respect you, but please listen to me...*(Interruptions)*...

Sir, the political situation in Karnataka is stinking. It is most unfortunate and that is why, I rose to speak with some anguish. The people there are disgusted by the dirty, opportunistic politics of the BJP and the Janata Dal, which have tarnished the fair name of Karnataka and caused irreparable damage to the reputation of the State. You represent the Council of States from Karnataka. In your speech here you have stated, immediately after the downfall

of the Government, our friends rushed to media and gave a statement saying that it was the worst type of betrayal in the Indian history. Let him deny. By whom? By JD(S), not by the Congress. Sir, why did the Congress form Government with JD(S)? It was formed to keep the communal forces out. The understanding arrived that there should be Congress-led Government with Janata Dal for five years not for twenty months. That was the clear understanding. But what had happened? When twenty months was over, when the Government of Congress and JD(S) was running smoothly, this BJP—Yeddyurappa and some five or six people—hatched the conspiracy. They went to the house of Kumaraswamy at that time through the backdoor. It is not stated by me; it is stated by the person who mediated, the famous lawyer, and who defended, he claimed to have defended, ten thousand cases of workers of this party. And they hatched the conspiracy to topple the Government. Why was this betrayal? Why was this conspiracy? It was to get the power. They are power-hungry. I will prove that. The question before the nation is: Is it not betrayal? Is it not cheating? Then, Sir, the government was formed under the leadership of Shri Kumaraswamy. At that time, our great former Prime Minister started crying before the people. He did not approve it, according to him. He pretended as if he were sick or on death bed. But after the formation of the Government with BJP, he reconciled and appreciated his son. What had happened before that? He stated, it is on Record, if the Government is formed it will be on his grave. The Government was formed and it was decided that they would rule the State for twenty months for JD(S) and twenty months for BJP. They were very happy. After that, what had happened? We have not touched them. We did not hatch any cospiracy like them. They themselves quarrelled. Every day, there were statements making allegations against each other. One party was saying that Chief Minister is corrupt and another party Ministers were saying that Chief Minister is not competent and he is corrupt. We did not do anything. They were making allegations against the Cheif Minister. They have stated that he is a *decoit*, and he has swallowed Rs.150 crores in mines deal. The Congress has not made these allegations. It is your party M.L.C., Mr. Bhandary, who has done it. Then, what has he stated? He has stated that this Chief Minister is trying to kill him. He lodged a complaint with the police station. Has the Congress done it? What has the high-command of BJP done here about it? Did they deny it? Did they condemn it? They will not do it. Then, sir, there was BJP Minister going before the police station and holding *dharna* and saying that Mr. M.P. Prakash, another Minister of JD(S) Government, should resign making allegations. Has the Congress done it? The BJP is putting blame on Congress. Then, Sir, what has the MLC from BJP done? He has gone to the High Court and he has gone to the Supreme Court saying that these people are corrupt; the Chief Minister of Karnataka is a corrupt fellow and he made lot of money. We have not made that allegation. The BJP wants to put the blame on us. Then, Sir, what have they done? Why has the Government fallen? It is not because of us. Their JD(S) partner has given advertisement in one-and-a-halfpages throughout the newspapers of the State making a chargesheet against them stating that they are corrupt; they are anti-secular; the people of Karnataka are not safe in their hands. We have not made it. Then, what has happened? Whether there is truth. Sir, there are...(*Interruptions*).

Then, Sir, in my district, within a short span of one month, there were communal riots twice. The curfew was imposed. Two Muslims were killed. Did they shed any tears? Then, Sir, there was retaliation also. One Hindu was killed and, then, two Hindus were killed in police firing. That was their governance. That was their rule and they wanted to poison the minds of the people, and it is not our charge; it is the charge of their own partner, who

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is running day-to-day administration in the Government. Sir, we suffered a lot. Within a short span of two months, once, there was curfew for five days. People were not allowed to go out; no water, no milk, no vegetables. They could not go to shops also. That was the position. And, poor people could not go to shops. That was the position. And, poor people could not go to work to earn their daily wages. That was the situation. That is the governance these people have given. Shri Venkaiah Nadu is not here. He should hear it. And, they are putting the blame on us, the Congress people. Then, who has withdrawn the support? We have not withdrawn the support. JD (S) people did not withdraw the support first. You withdrew the support. How did you withdraw the support? Your Ministers did not attend the Cabinet meeting. Your Ministers went to the Governor; your Deputy CM, Mr. Yeddyurappa, went to the Governor. Now, the question before the nation is whether there was any role of the Congress Party. You are responsible for your downfall. And, then the Government fell. What have you done? Your went to the Governor saying, "it should be dissolved now itself". Then, you organised the *Dharmayatra,* you went to the people, you went to 21 Districts, you went to each and every corner of the State saying that there was a betrayal, those people were not trustworthy and that you could not go on with these people.

SHRI K.B. SHANAPPA (Karnataka): The also went to the Governor.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, no. Please...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: You can have your say afterwards...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF P.J. KURIEN): That is why, it is being dissolved now. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, then they said, "we want elections; we will go to the people and say, you are our masters, do the justice and bring us back to power;"

The Deputy CM was saying that injustice had been done to him. He went to *Swamijis,* touched their feet and asked them to do justice. That was the plight of a politician. He went to all the temples asking for boon. He asked the women folk of the State to burn sandalwood sticks praying for his Chief Ministership. All these things happened and the people of Karnataka saw all this. Everyday in the media, in the electronic media, people had been seeing these ugly, dirty activities of the politicians. People lost their confidence. What happened then? Suddenly, a message came that there was a chance to form the Government. Sir, the Deputy CM, who was at Tumkur, flew in to Bangalore like a bird. But, Sir, it could not materialise, and, once again, these people compromised.

Then, Sir, they went to the Governor saying that we have got the 'numbers'. You are the people who said to the Governor, "dissolve the Assembly, and, if you don't dissolve the Assembly, We will *gherao* it." You have stated it earlier. The hon. Member who spoke now, his national leader came and gave the facts like this, and, you have given it to the people. Afterwards, once again, you went to the Governor asking him to revoke the proclamation. Did you not commit a fraud on the Constitution? You asked the Governor to dissolve the Assembly and have President's rule, and, asked him, once again, to revoke the Proclamation. You went to the people saying, "We do not want power, we are not power hungry, we want dissolution, we will come back to you", and, then, once again, asking for

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

the formation, Is it not a fraud on the people also? Are you not* ? Is it not a betrayal? Then, you formed the Government. How? How did you form the Government? It was with the help of the JD (S) legislators once again — same people, same number. Sir, I want to congratulate the High Command. He made an allegation against the High Command, Congress Party and against the Governor. We have to appreciate the Governor's action. Sir, he did not act according to the Congress. The Congress wanted the dissolution, President's Rule under article 356. The High Command has stated and the spokesman of AICC has made it clear that we don't want to form the Government. In spite of all this, he went and sought the approval for revoking. This is your right. The people were observing in Karnataka. Unfortunately, you are not form Kerala. He should have seen it on TV. He should have seen the action of these politicians running for power, greed for power. And, then, Sir, our great former Prime Minister wanted to join once again. These people, the BJP, have stated that he is a * he is such a personality the country has not seen earlier. They criticised him. Yes, to a certain extent, we also agree.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, Mr. Poojary, you can criticise his action. Since he is not a Member of this House, don't criticise him personally ...(*Interruptions*)... You can criticise his action.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Okay, Sir, I will say JD (S) supremo and JD(S) President. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHANTARAM LAXMAN NAIK: But, Sir, he is a former Prime Minister. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF P.J. KURIEN): He is not a Member of this House. He cannot come and defend himself. Only his political actions can be criticised...(*Interruptions*)... We have to be fair. We may agree or disagree, but, we have to be fair here...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI K.B. SHANAPPA: That is a personality which has to be criticised everywhere.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF P.J. KURIEN): You can do it outside, but, not here. ...(*Interruptions*)... Please proceed.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, BJP has got a frontal organisation. There are frontal organisations like VHP, RSS, Bajrang Dal. The charge has been made by JD (S) that they will communalise the entire streets, there will be bloodshed. There will be Gujarat type of bloodshed in Karnataka. That was a strong allegation. Sir, it has happened in my district. The BJP Minister, who took oath, immediately after taking oath, he was put in charge of my district and he said, "The present Chief Minister of Gujarat is my *guru*. I will have a Gujarat type of governance here." ...(*Interruptions*)... I will come to development...(*Interruptions*)...

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

JD (S) condemned and criticised the BJP. All of a sudden, once again, that * became angel for them. The government was formed. It remained for seven days. Before that, one of the hon. Members... (*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, it is 5 O' clock now, and this debate has to end, and at 6 O' clock there is going to be... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI K.B. SHANAPPA: Sir, you know many languages. You can interpret it.

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*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: He turned as angel... (*Interruptions*)...

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: हम मान लेते हैं। क्या कहना है,...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI K.V. SHANAPPA: Sir, we have supported the Home Minister. What is the fun in discussion?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is a debate. Two hours' time has been allocated for this purpose. Though 24 minutes' time was given to Mr. Venkaiah Naidu, he has taken more than 40 minutes. When he has spken for 40 minutes, you cannot say that others cannot speak... (*Interruptions*)

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: हम मना नहीं कर रहे हैं। वे अगर चालीस मिनट बोले हैं, क्या केवल इसीलिए वे 80 मिनट बोलेंगे?

श्री उपसभापति: नहीं, ऐसा नहीं है। When you say something, the other Member has also an equal right to make his submission. You cannot say that he has taken 40 minutes... (*Interruptions*)... No, no. Please continue.

प्रो॰ राम देव भंडारी (बिहार): पाणि जी चाहते हैं कि उनका भाषण उनके विचार से हो।

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: हमें भी मौका दीजिए।...(**व्यवधान**)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.. ... (*Interruptions*)..

श्री के॰बी॰ शण्प्पा: वे इतने अच्छे कांग्रेसी हैं।...(**व्यवधान**)... उन्होंने अपने लोगों को स्वयं बोला है कि पीछे के दरवाजे से सरकार बनाने की मैं परमिशन नहीं देता।

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: पुजारी जी को कांग्रेस के मुख्य मंत्री का उम्मीदवार...(**व्यवधान**)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pany, please sit down. Mr. Poojary, please continue.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: The Government was formed. In the meantime, what had happened. Sir, the JD(S) supremo placed 12 conditions to run the Government. The Chief Minister sworn was in a fix whether to accept these conditions or not. What are the conditions? He wanted the mining department and the urban department, apart from other conditions. There is an allegation against them that they have minted money, and the case is pending in the High Court as well as in the Supreme Court. Cases have been filed against them. It is a money-spining department. There was corruption. Thousands of crores of rupees have been lotted. It is not my allegation. It is their own allegation, their partner's allegation. Form it, it is crystal clear that it is a plum portfolio to earn money. 'Yes, if you are very clean, I am telling this to both the parties, why are you fighting for these two portfolios?' If the mining department and the urban department had been given to the BJP, the Government would have continued, or if the two departments had been given to the JD(S), the Government would have continued. It is not because of anything. It is because of hunger for money, it is because of hunger for power. Without any difficulty, they would have continued for another 20 months. They have not done it. Afterwards, they said, "They are giving lectures to us! From Bhagwad Gita, about morality, about principles, about ideology, they are giving lesson to us, and to the people of Karnataka". And, then, Sir, ultimately what has happened? We should have, and particularly the BJP should have, congratulated and thanked the Governor. When they withdrew the support, all the parties, including the Samajwadi Party, the Communist parties or the left parties and BSP said that the Assembly should be dissolved.

SHRI PENUMALLI MADHU (Andhra Pradesh): The media also. ... (*Interruptions*)... The BJP also.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: The BJP also. The BJP has put in writing that it should be dissolved.

SHEI PENUMALLI MADHU: What a wonderful approach they have!

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, it is not the media alone. Even a chain of editiorials came up before the nation on good governance, in order to maintain the spirit, to keep up the spirit of the nation. It is a Mandate given in Bommai case, reported in the year 1994, AIR S.C. Page 1918. it is stated that the Governor does not have the power to dissolve the Assembly. It is only with the Parliament. Only after the approval of Proclamation, it could be done. But the Governor stuck to that, which he cannot, under the rule of law. He did so irrespective of the rule of law. They were very happy! At that time, they were very happy. And they wanted to revoke. The Governor revoked it. In spite of all these pinpricks, in spite of all this dirty politics, he revoked it. They should have thanked him. And they should have thanked Sonia Gandhi. But he is criticising the high command; he is criticising the Prime Minister, he is criticising the Congress Party. Sir, the Congress Party respects the Constitution. You played fraud with the Constitution. But he wanted to keep up the dignity, and also the decorum of the Parliament. And the mandate has been given by the Supreme Court. You cannot change unless you go before the Parliament. Sir, once again, in spite of the fact that the media, all the intellectuals and all the people were asking for dissolution, he did not do it in the beginning. Afterwards, once again they started demanding, "It should be dissolved. President's rule should be there." He has done the same thing. He recommended the same thing. Should they not be grateful to him, Sir? Should his conduct be criticised? Has he done it in an unconstitutional manner? Is it not a character that it required for the nation today in the mind of the Governors? He has done it. What more do you want? Despite that you are criticising him today on the floor of the House. Not only on the floor of the House, even outside you are criticising! Will the people of Karnataka pardon you? Can you go before them? What have you done during the twenty months? What have you done? Chief Minister is sleeping in the houses in 47 villages! By sleeping in the villages how can you improve the State? Only God can help us. There is a wonderful image he has created. And he has shown to the people of Karnataka that you are not competent to rule; you cannot govern. You cannot govern. You do not know the ABC of governance. You have shown to them. Despite that, in the course of 20 months, you grabbed crores of rupees. That is a charge made by the Janata Dal, And also, there is a charge made by the BJP. And in spite of all these things, you say that you gave good governance! We had given loans at the rate of four per cent. I want to remind you, my friends, that during Indirajis time, the Twenty-Point Programme was there. The Government of India had given loans at the rate of four per cent and even today the NABARD is giving loans to the States for the small farmers at the rate of— earlier it was two per cent—three or three-and-a-half per cent. Now you are giving loans to some farmers at the rate of four per cent. We had given it. You say that you have written of all the loans up to Rs. 25,000. We had done it earlier. I was a Minister in the Finance Department. During Indiraji's time and even during Rajivji's time, we had written off loans in cases where they deserved. We had done so. It is not, for the first time, that you have done it.

You say, " We implemented prohibition". Liquor is prohibited from selling. I want to know from my friends where it was implemented, whether the poor people are not taking drinks and whether the people are free from alcohol. Sir, just now also liquor shops are opening. Earlier, they were paying Rs. 12 per bottle. Now they have to pay Rs. 24 per bottle

of illicit liquor. That is what they are drinking. The people are suffering. Earlier good stuff was given. Now illicit liquor is being given. They are destroying the health of the people. This is the state of affairs. This is the governance that they have given. And they claim that they have given wonderful governance to us; "we are bringing in Ram Rajya". What type of Ram Rajya is it? Is it creating some type of terror in the minds of the minorities? You are coming from Karnataka. You know the plight of the minorities during the twenty months' rule. They are terrified. If we talk in favour of the minorities, against the atrocities committed on them, they dub us as anti-Hindu...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI K.B. SHANAPPA: Sir, let him give the facts and figures. Nothing has happened to the minorities there. Let him give the facts and figures. What are the facts that you have? ...*(Interruptions)*... You are misleading. You give the facts...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: I am sorry, hon. Member. You are from Karnataka. What has happened in our district? Everybody is aware of it.

SHRI SURENDRA LATH: Sir, he is talking about Gujarat...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, he is talking about Gujarat...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He said about his district.

SHRI SURENDRA LATH: No. He wants to give the examaple of Gujarat...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, not Gujarat...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: You, BJP people, are just shutting your eyes towards the minorities. Is it not the duty of the majority to give them protection? Are you not killing them for nothing, for flimsy reasons? Are they not Indians? Are they not our brothers? This is what has happened in the twenty month's rule. Yes, we fought and I fought for their lives. I don't relish this type of aggression, this type of violence. I don't. What was the result? Sending threatening letters to me saying, "We will finish you; we will kill you; we will cut your body and put into dustbin". I did not care for my life. I lodged a complaint that this type of anonymous letters were receiving. Who had written those letter? The VHP, the RSS and all those people had written. You can threaten Poojary, but you can't give any threat to the minorities.

SHRI SURENDRA LATH: Sir, you have been defeated four times... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: I had won four times. Do you know that? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SURENDRA LATH: The people had rejected you...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: I was there in the Lok Sabha for four times continuously.

SHRI SURENDRA LATH: Yes, people had also rejected you four times...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री उपसभापति: आप बोलने दीजिए। आप उनको बोलने दीजिए।...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: For your information, you defeated me. By what means?

By spreading communal hatred... *(Interruptions)*... You created division between Hindus and Muslims. That is why I became a victim of that.

SHRI SURENDRA LATH: People have rejected you.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: People have not rejected me...*(Interruptions)*... You must understand that you were also rejected. Your leaders were rejected a number of times and then they entered here. Think of that. How many times have the former Prime Minister and the former Deputy Prime Minister been defeated? How many times was your Dy. CM defeated in Karnataka? ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let us come to the subject...*(Interruptions)*... Let us confine to Karnataka. *(Interruptions)*. The issue is different. Please sit down.

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: सर, एक इतिहास के बादशाह ने कहा है...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI PENUMALLI MADHU: Sir, valuable time of the House is being wasted. *(Interruptions)*.

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: सर, उसने कहा है, आप सुनिए ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: मुझे नहीं सुनना है।...(व्यवधान)... आप बैठिए, Nothing will go on record. आप बैठिए, कुछ नहीं जाएगा। ...(व्यवधान)... आपके बोलने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। ...(व्यवधान)... आप बैठिए, कुछ नहीं जाएगा। Nothing will go on record...(व्यवधान)... मिस्टर पाणि, आप क्यों ऐसा करते हैं?...(व्यवधान)...

आप क्यों ऐसा करते हैं? ...(व्यवधान)... देखिए, ...(व्यवधान)... मिस्टर पाणि, आप बैठिए। ....(व्यवधान)... देखिए, इतने ऑनरेबल मैम्बर्स हैं, कोई ऐसा बिहेव नहीं करता, आप क्यों ऐसा बिहेस करते हैं? ...(व्यवधान)... Please don't do it. Please don't do it. बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)...आप बैठिए।

SHRI PENUMALLI MADHU: Sir, the hon. Members go on disturbing the House every time. Particularly one or two individuals are doing it continuously. *(Interruptions)*.

श्री उपसभापति: क्यों भई, ...(व्यवधान)... सुनिए, ...(व्यवधान)... मिस्टर, आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... मिस्टर मधु, प्लीज सिट डाउन। ...(व्यवधान)... प्लीज सिट डाउन। ...(व्यवधान)... आप बैठिए। मिस्टर मधु, आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... आप बैठिए। देखिए, ...(व्यवधान)... आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... इससे आपको क्या फायदा मिलता है? ...(व्यवधान)... आपको इसमें कुछ प्वाइंट स्कोर करने को नहीं मिलेंगे। ...(व्यवधान)... प्लीज? आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI PENUMALLI MADHU: Sir, at that time also...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record...(व्यवधान)...

Nothing will go on record... (व्यवधान)... प्लीज मिस्टर मधु, आप बैठिए, प्लीज सिट डाउन। ...(व्यवधान)... आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... मिस्टर मधु, प्लीज बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... आप बैठिए। ...(व्यवधान)... पाणि जी, बहुत हो गया। आपका बहुत हो गया है।...(व्यवधान)... You don't participate in the debate. You disturb the House. I am telling you with all sincerity. Please don't do it. It is not bringing honour to you. Please, at least, respect the Chair.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, the hon. Member from Karnataka.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Poojary, there are still two more speakers from your party. Kindly conclude.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, a lot of allegations have been made against us by the hon. Member who spoke before me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But the question is we have to conclude it at some point of time. It is not necessary to reply to all the allegations.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: The hon. Member made a serious charge against us saying that we are power hungry; we manoeuvred the things to come to power. Who told you this? We did not make any claim to form the Government before the Governor. We gave in writing that we wanted elections. The person who is in charge, I can name him because he is a Member of this House, Mr. Chavan, has gone on record saying that we want dissolution of the House. The Prime Minister, who came earlier, before this episode, stated, "If the Government falls, we want to dissolve the House and we want to go for elections." The PCC President of Karnataka made it clear that we want dissolution and we want to go before the people. Now tell me whether the Congress (I) Government has passed a Resolution to form the Government. If M.P. Prakash or somebody goes and approaches some leaders of the Central Government or some leaders of the party, they cannot throw him out; they will have to hear him. Now to who have they given any promise? This type of an assurance is your own imagination. It is a ploy to form the Government. You wanted to form the Government by hook or by crook. You wanted some reasons for it. I myself went to Karnataka and made our stand clear that we wanted dissolution of the House. We did not want to go in for formation of the Government. But you yourself dreamt so. And what happened later! You are saying that we are power-greedy. But what has Shri Yediyurappa done? He changed his name from Yediyurappa to Yeddyurappa. That is why I am saying, you wanted luck to favour you. And he filed an affidavit for change of name on 11th October so that luck could favour him and he would become the Chief Minister ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Kindly yield for a minute. Sir, if somebody changes his name, what is the problem in it? And, is it proper for the House to discuss about an individual, who is not present here, about the change of name?

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN (Kerala): It has become a fashion these days. All the political leaders are changing their names. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Many people are changing parties. After all, the man wanted to change his name only. ...(*Interruptions*)

श्री उपसभापति: पाणि जी, अब देखिए, आपके लीडर बोल रहे हैं। हर चीज़ में आप क्यों उठ कर खड़े हो जाते हैं? आप दूसरों को मौका दीजिए ना!

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Even the JD (S) supremo had written a letter to the Prime Minister of the country saying that they wanted to go in for elections.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Poojaryji, please conclude because we have a lot of business.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Now, he has made it very clear that he wanted to go for elections. Somehow you got his consent and you manoeuvred things to form your Government. You wanted to grab the power. In any case, you had the power since you were an alliance of the Government. But you wanted the Chief Ministership. The Congress (I) ruled for 20 months; the BJP-JD (S) combine ruled for 20 months. So, you were also in the Government. But you aspired for the Chief Minister's post and make money because that is a powerful post. So, that is the power-hungriness, and you are making a charge against us that we are power-hungry....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you have to conclude. Otherwise, we will not be able to conclude the debate and the Members will not be present in good numbers. I request all the hon. Members to confine themselves to their time. Mr. Poojary, you conclude now so that others also can speak.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: So, power-hunger is not for the Congress (I). We do not want to manoeuvre anything. We did not do that. You wanted power. The hon. Member from Karnataka, who spoke before me, should have been careful while speaking. The Congress Government never aspired to form the Government. And what has happened in Karnataka? You should learn from our party. Our leader, Sonia Gandhi, had given up the Prime Ministership. She did not go after power. She did not want it. She made a sacrifice and declined when the President of India called her to take the oath. That is the history of the Congress. That is Sonia Gandhi. That is Congress. You must learn something from her. Instead of that, you want to have power at any rate. I congratulate the Home Minister, the Government of India and also our leader, Sonia Gandhi, for taking the right decision. At the end, the action taken by the Government of India has been appreciated. Now, at least, follow her footsteps.

With these words, thank you very much, Sir, for having given me this opportunity.

श्री ब्रजभूषण तिवारी (उत्तर प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, अभी ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री उपसभापति: अभी दोनों कर्नाटक के लोगों ने बात की, अब आपकी बारी है ...(**व्यवधान**)।

श्री ब्रजभूषण तिवारी: सर, कर्नाटक में हमारी पार्टी है, हमारे सांसद हैं ...(**व्यवधान**)।

श्री उपसभापति: जी हां, मुझे मालूम है।

श्री ब्रजभूषण तिवारी: अभी कर्नाटक के बारे में कांग्रेस और भाजपा के दो माननीय सदस्यों ने एक-दूसरे के ऊपर जो आरोप-प्रत्यारोप लगाया, इससे एक बात तो साफ झलक गई कि ये दोनों ही सत्ता के भूखे थे और दोनों ही अपनी-अपनी चालाकी से वहां की सरकार का मजा लेना चाहते थे। मगर इन दोनों से तीसरा, जो जेडी (एस) है, वह ज्यादा चालाक निकला, क्योंकि उसने बारी-बारी से दोनों का इस्तेमाल किया, कांग्रेस का भी इस्तेमाल किया और भाजपा का भी किया। इस नाते मैं तो उनकी चालाकी के लिए उनको मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूं क्योंकि उन्होंने दोनों को ठीक पाठ पढ़ा दिया।

मान्यवर, ये जो घटनाएं घटीं, जैसा कि नायडू साहब ने यहां पर आर्टिकल 356 का इस्तेमाल करने की बात कही, यह सही है। अभी कहा गया कि बहुत समय से आर्टिकल 356 का ज्यादातर दुरुपयोग किया गया है और इस बारे में सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने अपने तमाम निर्णय दिए। इस संबंध में अभी यहां पर बोमई केस की चर्चा की गई है, फिर बिहार की चर्चा हुई, झारखंड की चर्चा हुई। जो केन्द्र की सरकार होती है, वह इस आर्टिकल 356 की आड़ में हमेशा, राज्यों में जो दूसरे दलों की सरकारें बनती हैं, उन सरकारों को अपदस्थ करती रहती है और वहां पर उनको चलने नहीं देती है। यह बहुत ही पुरानी बात रही है। इसी कारण जब कभी-भी 356 की बात आती है तो लोगों के मन में यह आशंका बन जाती है कि इसका ठीक से इस्तेमाल नहीं होगा। यह भी सही है कि हमारे जो संविधान के निर्माता थे, उन्होंने हमारा फैडरल स्ट्रक्चर या संघीय ढांचा बनाया, उसमें गवर्नर की जो व्यवस्था थी, वह यह थी कि वह राज्य और केन्द्र के बीच में संबंध बनाए रखेगा, समन्वय बनाए रखेगा और संविधान की धाराओं का ठीक तरीके से पालन हो रहा है या नहीं हो रहा है, उस पर भी नजर रखेगा। परन्तु कांग्रेस पार्टी का सबसे बड़ा अपराध यह रहा कि उसने गवर्नर को संवैधानिक संस्था या संविधान का रक्षक मानने के बजाए, अपने दल के हित का रक्षक बना लिया और इसीलिए तमाम प्रकार की अनियमितताएं और शंकाएं पैदा हुई। यह कोई नई बात नहीं है। अभी उत्तर प्रदेश में मुलायम सिंह जी की सरकार थी और कांग्रेस पार्टी वहां वर्षों से सत्ता से बाहर रही। वह कुछ तो कर नहीं सकती थी। जैसे हमारे यहां देहात में यह कहते हैं कि कुछ न करें तो विरोधी को चिकोटी ही काट लें या उसको लंघी ही मार दें। इस प्रकार 'मुलायम सिंह जी की सरकार को बर्खास्त करना है', 'बर्खास्त करना है', 'राष्ट्रपति शासन लगाना है', इनके बड़े-बड़े नेता प्रेस विज्ञप्तियां जारी करते थे और माहौल बनाने की कोशिश करते थे। मगर इधर बिहार, झारखंड और गोआ की जो घटनाएं हुईं और न्यायालय ने जो अपनी राय प्रकट की, जनमत का जो डर था ...(**व्यवधान**)... और मार्क्सवादी साथी भी उनके साथ थे। इसलिए वे हिम्मत नहीं कर पाए, परन्तु उन्होंने बराबर इस बात की कोशिश की। मैं यहां पर, इस सदन में यह बहुत स्पथट रूप से कहना चाहता हूं कि इस प्रकार की जो अवसरवादिता है और नायडु साहब ने ठीक ही कहा है उससे पूरी

राजनीति पर लोगों की नजर खराब हो जाती है तथा जो राजनीति कर्मी हैं, राजनैतिक दल के लोग हैं, उनके प्रति जो विश्वास होना चाहिए, जो सम्मान होना चाहिए, वह उसके मन में नहीं रहता। यह बहुत ही घटिया काम है। अगर आप सरकार बनाना चाहते हैं, सम्मिलित सरकार बनाना चाहते हैं, गठबन्धन की सरकार बनाना चाहते हैं, तब कोई आधार हो, कार्यक्रम बने। परन्तु जल्दबाजी में निगेटिव एप्रोच होगा, नकारात्मक सोच होगा कि फलां को हमें सत्ता में नहीं आने देना है। यह भाजपा के साथ पहली बार नहीं हुआ। कांग्रेस ने यह पहली बार नहीं किया। कांग्रेस ने एक बार 1978-79 में चौधरी चरण सिंह जी को समर्थन दिया था। चौधरी चरण सिंह जी ने प्रधानमंत्री पद की शपथ ली। जब चौधरी चरण सिंह जी को विश्वास-मत हासिल होने को हुआ, तो जिस दिन लोक सभा का सदन शुरू होने वाला था, उसी दिन कांग्रेस पार्टी ने अपना समर्थन चौधरी चरण सिंह जी से वापस ले लिया। जब चंद्रशेखर जी की सरकार थी। बजट आने वाला था। आप समझिए कि इसी तरीके से उस सरकार को भी अस्थिर करने की कोशिश की गई और उसका समर्थन वापस ले लिया। मुलायम सिंह जी सरकार न बना पाएं, इसलिए भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने मायावती से समझौता कर लिया, मायावती जी की बहुजन समाजवादी पार्टी से। वहां पर भी 6-6 महीने की शर्त थी। मायावती जी भी जे०डी० (एस०) की तरह बहुत चालाक निकलीं। उन्होंने छः महीने मजा किया और जब भाजपा की पारी आई, तो अंगूठा दिखा दिया। इस प्रकार की जो सिद्धांतहीनता, अवसरवादिता और सत्ता को हथियाने की जो चालाकी होती है तथा इस प्रकार के जो गठबंधन होते हैं, वे सरकारें कभी स्थिर नहीं रहतीं और वे सरकारें कभी भी जनता का या प्रदेश का विकास नहीं कर सकतीं। इसलिए हम इन दोनों लोगों को इसके लिए गुनाहगार मानते हैं। उन दोनों को, बजाए एक-दूसरे पर आरोप-प्रत्यारोप करने के, स्वयं शांति से आत्मचिंतन करना चाहिए तथा अपना आत्मनिरीक्षण करना चाहिए कि हम ईमानदार कहां तक थे, हमारा व्यवहार कितने घटिया किस्म का रहा और उसका पूरे लोकतंत्र तथा संसदीय व्यवस्था पर कितना गलत असर पड़ा। यह सही है कि 356 का दुरुपयोग हुआ। परन्तु इस समय जो कर्नाटक की स्थिति है और मैं समझता हूं कि इसके अलावा कोई विकल्प नहीं है। ठीक ही है कि अगर वहां पर किसी को बहुमत नहीं है, कोई सरकार बनाने की स्थिति में नहीं है, आपस में इतनी कटुता बढ़ गई है। इसलिए इसके अलावा और कोई रास्ता नहीं है कि वहां की विधान सभा भंग की जाए, ये जनता के बीच जाएं और मुझे यह लगता है कि यह तीनों वहां रिजेक्ट होंगे तथा कोई नई राजनीतिक शक्ति वहां पर उभरेगी और जनता उसको अपना विश्वास देगी।

नायडु साहब ने अभी बातचीत के दरम्यान कहा कि मैं राम मन्दिर बनाऊंगा, मैं राम मन्दिर बनाऊंगा। बनाएंगे क्या? हमारे गुरु श्री उदय प्रताप जी की एक बहुत मशहूर कविता है। मैं उसे जरूर सुना देना चाहता हूं, कि–

जिसकी धरती, चांद-तारे, आसमां सोचो ज़रा।

उसका मन्दिर यह बनाएंगे, अमां सोचो ज़रा।।

मैं इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

SHRI PENUMALLI MADHU: Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, for providing me an opportunity to speak, though lately. Sir, the developments that have taken place in Karnataka leading to a situation where proclamation of the President's Rule is necessitated, our party, Communist Party of India (Marxist), is supporting this Resolution. While supporting, I would like to bring to the kind notice of the House what real lessons the political parties have to draw from the developments in Karnataka.

Sir, Shri Venkaiah Naidu, while speaking, narrated in detail for about 45 minutes. He also gave figures and other Chronological details related to the developments in Karnataka. While he was presenting his arguments, it was clearly exhibited how opportunistic the BJP was. It has behaved so opportunistically in the State of Karnataka. I would like to illustrate one or two aspects. In the beginning itself, when the unholy alliance broke, the BJP demanded dissolution of the Assembly and fresh early elections. After demanding dissolution of the Assembly and early elections, again it had a big *dharna* and staked claim for formation of the Government.

The entire argument of Shri Venkaiah Naidu has not noticed the political bankruptcy of the communal party, the BJP. Being a communal party, it had an alliance with JD. After 20 months of the Dharam Singh Government, it pulled down the Dharam Singh Government with the backdoor politics and an unholy alliance was instituted. That unholy alliance.....

श्री रूदनारायण पाणि: आप के पांच बार कम्युनल बोलने से हमारी पार्टी कम्युनल नहीं होगी। ...(**व्यवधान**)... सर, इंडियन मुस्लिम लीग का इस सरकार को समर्थन देना सेकुलर है? ...(**व्यवधान**)... सर, यह क्या तर्क है?

श्री उपसभापति: अब इस में मैं क्या करूं?

श्री रूदनारायण पाणि: आप तीन सौ बार बोलो, कुछ नहीं होगा। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record.

श्री रूदनारायण पाणि:*

श्री उपसभापति: अब इसमें मैं क्या करूं?

Nothing will go on record since he is not yielding.

श्री रूदनारायण पाणि: *

SHRI PENUMALLI MADHU: While Shri Venkaiah Naidu was speaking ...(*Interruptions*) Demolition of Babri Masjid was a pucca communal thing. What is wrong in my saying? Your leaders demolished it... (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record since he is not yielding.

श्री रूदनारायण पाणि: *

SHRI PENUMALLI MADHU: Sir, firstly, what is the political content of the whole developments? What is the political aspect of it? Shri Venkaiah Naidu did not reveal the political aspect of the developments that have taken place in the State of Karnataka in making a Chief Minister. What is the political aspect? The political aspect is the opportunistic role of the Bhartiya Janata Party, which has showed that it is "certainly a party with difference" in its greed for power. Its greed for power is very much demonstrated here. First, they demanded dissolution of the Assembly and later on claimed for Chief Ministership. This itself illustrated how opportunistic the BJP is and, how this communal party has played an opportunistic role in this country is very much demonstrated in Karnataka. Venkaiah Naidu in his argument he says from that 27th October onwards till 9th November, the Governor had taken so much time. Sir if anybody with his wisdom analyses the developments these seven days of Yeddyurappa Government he will find how the time taken by the Governor was most justifiable. Mr. Vankaiah Naidu says that in many other States Governor's role is objectionable, if yes, we have some issues, the Governors are being misused, and how the Governors are misusing their powers. Can be seen in the past. In 1957 in Kerala the elected Government was dismissed. All this experience we had put in the State of Karnataka the developments tell us that the Governor has played a proper role, he has taken proper time to analyse the situation and after analysing the situation he had invited Mr. Yeddyurappa. By Yeddyurappa Government collapsed within seven days. How unholy the alliance is responsible to the collapse. It is another Mr. Venakaiah Naidu started quoting the *Times of India cartoon.* I do agree with that. But I will quote from other papers. The entire nation is questioning the unholy alliance of the BJP. He says that the earlier Chief Minister, Kumaraswamy, has eaten away Rs. 150 crores. With that Chief Minister you are again

*Not recorded.

6.00 P.M.

having a Government. कैसे हैं? अच्छा है, बहुत अच्छा है? They are trying to have an alliance with them. It is such a brazen, shameless behaviour of the BJP, which is very much demonstrated in the State of Karnataka. ...*(interruptions)*... Sir, I quote from *Deccan Herald,* which is one of the popular dailies in Karnataka. It says, "Yeddyurappa might have fulfilled his life's ambition of becoming the Chief Minister but no tears will be shed for the premature demise of a government built solely on personal ambition, caprice and political opportunism." Then, let us see what *the Hindu* editorial says while telling about the opportunistic role of the BJP." Few chapters in independent India's political history can match *l'affaire* Karnataka for brazen opportunism, changeability, greed for the loaves and fishes of office, betrayal and awful political judgment." Sir, Venkaiah Naiduji has to observe all these things and should not quote only one cartoon. Definitely, I say that the opportunistic role of Janata Dal has certainly eroded its credibility. It played such an opportunistic role in the State of Karnataka. Once it is demanding fresh elections and at another time it is giving a charter of demands. In the recent developments of Karnataka, they demonstrated greed for power and nothing else. They have no concern for the people's issues. People are suffering from price rise. Neither BJP nor Janata Dal are concerned about अच्छा सैकुलर है, बहुत अच्छा है, यह देखो। See the alliance with BJP (*Time-bell*) That is why, I say, without going into the political content of the whole affair, only demagogic way of putting things will never help matters. Some innocent people may be laughed at or made happy but demagogy never sustains for long. So, my submission is, opportunistic role of BJP is very much demonstrated by its demanding dissolution of Assembly, demanding early elections and, then, again claiming formation of the Government. It is *pucca* opportunism. The experience of Karnataka proves to the other parts and States that horse-trading and unholy alliance will not sustain for long. Opportunism and playing with communalism will not sustain for long. Communalism has no place in India. We have seen instances of communalism in independent India. It may be possible to fool some people for some time but not always. With these words I conclude.

प्रो॰ राम देव भंडारी: माननीय उपसभापति जी, कर्नाटक के माननीय दो बड़े नेताओं ने विस्तार से सारी चर्चा की और दोनों नेताओं ने एक दूसरे की पार्टियों को कटघरे में खड़ा करने का प्रयास किया।

महोदय, मैं श्री वेंकैया नायडु जी को बहुत ध्यान से सुन रहा था, उन्होंने राष्ट्रपति शासन की चर्चा की, कई राज्यों के बारे में चर्चा की। मैं उनको स्मरण दिलाना चाहता हूं कि जब बिहार में श्रीमती राबड़ी देवी जी की सरकार चल रही थी, जिसको रनिंग गवर्नमेंट कहते हैं, उस सरकार में उन्होंने राष्ट्रपति शासन लगाया। वैसे राज्य सभा से वह पारित नहीं हुआ, तो पुन: उनको वापिस उन्हें मुख्य मंत्री के पद पर बैठाना पड़ा। अपनी बारी जब आती है तो ये नैतिकता का सवाल उठाते हैं, कांस्टिट्यूशन का सवाल उठाते हैं, मगर दूसरे पर जब यह कार्यवाही करनी पड़ती है तो सब कुछ भूल जाते हैं।

महोदय, कर्नाटक में चुनाव के बाद किसी पार्टी को absolute majority नहीं मिली थी। स्वाभाविक था कि या तो पुन: चुनाव कराया जाए या कोई दो पार्टियां, यदि सामने आती हैं सरकार बनाने के लिए, उनकी सरकार बने और सरकार बनी भी। नायडू साहब कह रहे थे कि सबसे बड़ी पार्टी हमारी थी 79 MLA थे। पुजारी साहब कह रहे थे कि 28 परसैंट आपको वोट मिले थे। अच्छी बात है, सबसे बड़ी पार्टी थी, मगर 79 विधायकों से सरकार नहीं बनती। आप किसी दूसरी पार्टी का सहारा लेते, जो आपको सहारा देने के लिए उस समय तैयार नहीं थी, तो कांग्रेस और JD(S) दोनों ने मिलकर सरकार बनाई और लगभग 2 साल तक वह सरकार चली। भारतीय जनता पार्टी में यह छटपटाहट तो थी कि दक्षिण के राज्यों में कम से कम एक राज्य में सरकार बनाने का हमें अवसर मिले। JD(S) के कुमारस्वामी चाहते थे कि उन्हें मुख्य मंत्री बनने का मौका मिले। जिसे unholy alliance कहते हैं, वह उन दोनों के बीच हुआ, जिसके मुताबिक 20-20 महीने तक सरकार चलानी थी, कुमारस्वामी मुख्य मंत्री बन गए, भारतीय जनता पार्टी से एक उप-मुख्य मंत्री बने। इस सरकार के करीब 18 महीने पूरे हुए, उसके बाद पता नहीं इन लोगों के बीच क्या हुआ? जैसा

ये कह रहे थे कि मुख्य मंत्री पर 150 करोड़ रुपए रिश्वत लेने का आरोप लगाया गया। FIR दर्ज़ करने की बात हुई, कोर्ट में गए, इलेक्शन कमीशन में गए, ये सारी बातें मुख्य मंत्री के खिलाफ की गईं। अब कोई मुख्य मंत्री या कोई पार्टी, ऐसी स्थिति में किस तरह से समर्थन दूसरी पार्टी को देगी, जब कि उस पर लगातार हमले किए जा रहे हों?

उपसभापति जी, ऐसी स्थिति में सरकार बनने की सौदेबाज़ी होने लगी, मैं इसको सौदेबाज़ी कहता हूं। यहां से माननीय जसवन्त बाबू गए थे, हम लोगों ने टी॰वी॰ पर देखा था समाचार पत्रों में भी ये खबरें आती थीं, मगर बात बनी नहीं और जब बात नहीं बनी, बिल्कुल टूट गई, तो जैसा वेंकैया साहब कह रहे थे कि ''धर्म यात्रा आंदोलन'', यह सब शुरू हुआ और एक दूसरे के खिलाफ वे जिन-जिन शब्दों का व्यवहार कर सकते थे- mischief, betrayal, corruption, विश्वासघात-यानी हिंदी और अंग्रेज़ी के जितने शब्द मिले, उनका व्यवहार इन्होंने एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ किया और ऐसा लगा कि अब बात बनने वाली नहीं है, मगर राजनीति का खेल कैसा होता है और जब सिद्धांत-विहीन, विचारधारा-विहीन गठबंधन आपस में हो, तो इसी तरह का खेल होता है। वे पुन: तैयार हो गए, 128 विधायकों को लेकर राष्ट्रपति भवन पहुंच गए और मैं धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं केन्द्रीय सरकार को कि उन्होंने अवसर दिया, चीफ-मिनिस्टर की शपथ भी दिला दी और इनका जो सपना था, वह पूरा भी हो गया, एक हफ्ते के लिए भारतीय जनता पार्टी का यह सपना पूरा हुआ कि दक्षिण भारत के एक राज्य में उनका मुख्य मंत्री बना, मगर इस बीच जो कुछ हुआ, उसे हम लोग जानते हैं, JD(S) का समर्थन नहीं मिला और उन्होंने इस्तीफा दे दिया। ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है? गठबंधन की सरकारें अगर सौदेबाज़ी के आधार पर बनेंगी, शर्तों के आधार पर बनेंगी या संकीर्ण स्वार्थ, सीमित राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण, इन आधारों पर बनेंगी, तो वे सरकारें नहीं चलेंगी और कर्नाटक में यही हुआ था कि एक प्रकार की सौदेबाजी हुई थी, क्योंकि विचारधारा में कहीं मेल नहीं था। वे अपने को जनता दल सेक्युलर कहते हैं और इनकी पार्टी की बुनियाद आधारहीन है। दोनों अलग-अलग विचारधाराओं की इन पार्टियों ने आपस में मिलकर सरकार बनाने की बात की, सरकार बनाई थी, लेकिन निश्चित रूप से वह सरकार नहीं चलनी थी और नहीं चली। ऐसी स्थिति में राष्ट्रपति शासन के सिवाय कोई उपाय नहीं था। मैं अपने भारतीय जनता पार्टी के मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूं, वे कह रहे थे कि आगे सरकार बनाएंगे। हमेशा कहते हैं कि पिछली बार जब 2004 में लोक सभा का चुनाव हो रहा था, उस समय भी कहते थे और सभी पार्टियां कहती हैं, अगर पहले से कह दें कि हम सरकार नहीं बनाएंगे तो उनके जो वर्कर्स हैं, उनका मनोबल घटेगा। मगर 28 परसेंट वोट से कितना परसेंट आगे जाएंगे, मुझे तो नहीं लगता और खास करके इनकी पार्टी में जो आजकल अंदरूनी लड़ाई चल रही है...(**व्यवधान**)... अखबारों में छपती है, टीवी चैनलों पर दिखाया जाता है ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: *

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record. मि॰ पाणि, आपके दूसरे मेम्बर्स बैठे हैं, आप क्यों उठते हैं ...(**व्यवधान**)...

प्रो॰ राम देव भंडारी: यह मैं नहीं कह रहा हूं, ये सारी बातें समाचार पत्रों में छपती हैं, टीवी चैनल्स पर आते हैं। गुजरात के बड़े-बड़े नेता जो यहां भी बैठे हुए हैं, उनके भी स्टेटमेंट्स अखबारों में छप रहे हैं। यह जो राजनीतिक मलाई खाने की बात है ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री एम॰ वेंकैया नायडु: सर, मलाई खाने के लिए कांग्रेस, आरजेडी बिहार में एक हो गया...(**व्यवधान**)... जिंदगी भर कांग्रेस के खिलाफ लड़ाई किया और आज कांग्रेस में मिल गए, बढ़िया, बढ़िया ...(**व्यवधान**)...

प्रो॰ राम देव भंडारी: दुनिया जानती है, देश जानता है कि कांग्रेस एक सेक्युलर पार्टी है और राष्ट्रीय जनता दल भी एक सेक्युलर पार्टी है, अगर दो सेक्युलर पार्टियां एक साथ मिलती हैं तो यह मलाई खाने की बात नहीं है। देश की साम्प्रदायिक ताकतों को हराने के लिए सारी सेक्यूलर पार्टीज को इकट्ठा होना चाहिए ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री रूद्रनारायण पाणि: 1970 की दशक में ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री उपसभापति: मि॰ पाणि, कभी-कभी अच्छा लगता है, हर वक्त आप उठते रहते हैं, हर वक्त मैं आपसे रिक्वेस्ट करता हूं कि आप ऐसा मत कीजिए, यह आपके personality के खिलाफ जाएगा। यह ठीक बात नहीं है, आप किसी को भी बख्शते नहीं हैं, हर मेम्बर को interfere करते हैं, यह पार्लियामेंटरी डेकोरम के बहुत खिलाफ है ...(**व्यवधान**)..

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*Not recorded.

प्रो॰ राम देव भंडारी: उपसभापति जी, मैंने पहले भी कहा कि वेंकैया नायडू जी ने उनको जो ड्यूटी दिया है, वह अपनी ड्यूटी कर रहे हैं...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री उपसभापति: कौन ड्यूटी दिया है वह मालूम नहीं है, लेकिन वह himself assume कर लिए हैं कि क्या करेंगे ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री एम॰ वेंकैया नायडु: रामदेव जी अपनी पार्टी और अपने नेता के साथ ऐसा करते होंगे, उसी को यहां बता रहे हैं, हमारी पार्टी में ऐसा नहीं होता है...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री उपसभापति: ठीक है, ठीक है।

प्रो॰ राम देव भंडारी: उपसभापति महोदय, मैं कह रहा था कि लोभ, लालच, लालसा, ये सब अगर राजनीति में आगे आएंगे और वैचारिक सिद्धांत पीछे जाएगा तो निश्चित रूप से यही हालत होगी, चाहे वह किसी स्टेट में हो। महोदय, मैं तो इसको रासलीला कहता था, रासलीला सभी देखे होंगे, हम सभी ने देखा होगा, वहां पर नौटंकी हो रही थी, रासलीला हो रही थी, बस पर्दा गिरा और सब कुछ खत्म हो गया ...(**व्यवधान**)...। इसलिए महोदय, मैं महामहिम राष्ट्रपति द्वारा जो राष्ट्रपति शासन की उद्घोषणा की गई है, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूं और मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि महामहिम राज्यपाल महोदय बिल्कुल निष्पक्ष और स्वच्छ प्रशासन देंगे ...(**व्यवधान**)... और शीघ्र ही वहां चुनाव होगा। इसी आशा और विश्वास के साथ, मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu): Thank you, Sir, for giving this opportunity to my party; the Communist Party of India to place its views in brief. One can understand the anger and frustration of the BJP. They had a dream to have their first Government in the South. Their dream stands shattered. That is the reason for their anger and frustration. But, in Karnataka, coming together of the JD(S) and the BJP was a great irony. It was known from day one that the Government will not be able to survive, and that Government fell. But what had to happen, happened. BJP made an atempt to form the Government. A chance was given to BJP, but it failed to prove its majority on the floor of the House. And, I think, all constitutional opportunities were provided to BJP, but their Chief Minister could not win the confidence on the floor of the House. Given the arithmetics of Karnataka Assembly, given the political alignment of forces in the Karnataka Assembly, there is no possibility for any combine to form the Government. What else the Governor could have done? What else one could have done in the given situation? So, the inevitable happened. And, there is no possibility for any single party to form the Government, there is no possibility for any combine to form the Government, and the only option is, proclamation of the President's rule. We are opposed to the dismissal of any popular-elected Government which enjoys a majority. If that is the case, one can question the decision of the Union Government. But, here, in the case of Karnataka, there was no possibility. If this situation is allowed to continue, you will encourage more political opportunism, and more horse-trading. The coming together of these two parties was a manifestation of great political opportunism in the State of Karnataka. Now, I think, what has happened is good for the people of Karnataka. Whether the JD(S) has betrayed the BJP or the BJP has betrayed the JD(S), that is not the issue. In a democracy, people should not be betrayed. Their interest must be protected, and democracy will have to be upheld. In the given situation, I think, the Assembly must be dissolved. Political parties will have to go to the people to seek fresh mandate. When political parties fail to find a solution, ultimately, it is the people who provide the solution. And, that is what democracy means. In Karnataka, even if you declare President's rule we will have to dissolve the Assembly, we will have to go for early elections, and political parties must seek fresh mandate from the people. That is the only way out for Karnataka. This is my party's position. Thank you.

SHRIMATI PREMA CARIAPPA: Sir, I support the resolution and the proclamation issued by the President under article 356.

Sir, usually, the Congress Party hesitates to use article 356 of the Constitution. But, under the rarest of the rare situations or circumstances, article 356 of the Constitution has to be used. The people of Karnataka are very sensitive while forming the Government. But, unfortunately, in 2004 elections, no single party got the majority and the Congress Party was forced to form the Government with the JD(S), and the JD(S) toppled the Congress Party. The people of Karnataka felt that the JD(S) not only toppled the democratically-elected Congress Party, but also betrayed the people of Karnataka. As Mr. Naiduji said, they were in the Opposition for 26 years and they were very hungry to have power, so, they grabbed the opportunity and went to the JD(S) because they wanted to form the Government. Knowing fully well that the JD(S) betrayed the Congress Party, and that they may also betray them, they wanted to form the Government. They formed the Government, and had the agreement for 20-20 months. So, Mr. Kumaraswamy became the Chief Minister for the first 20 months. Throughout the 20 long-months, they never thought of developing Karnataka or implementing any programmes of UPA in Karnataka. They were only worried that what would happen after 20 months. Whether these people will transfer the power to them or not. Everyday we could see the same news in the print media: What will happen after 20 months? The same question: Will they transfer the power or not? Sir, after 20 months, they could not get the power; they could not succeed in getting the CM's Chair. Somehow or other, they wanted to grab the Chair. They made all-out efforts, they paraded in Raj Bhavan in front of Governor, they came all the way to Delhi to parade in Rashtrapati Bhavan, and they went to all the temples and *mathas* asking for help and support. But they should be ever grateful to the Congress President Ms. Sonia Gandhi and the UPA Government for giving them an opportunity to form the Government in Karnataka. They formed the Government. The Governor gave them the opportunity to show the strength in the House on 19th November. But on 18th November, in the evening, both the Chief Ministers, the ex-Chief Minister, Shri Kumaraswamy and the new Chief Minister Shri Yeddyurappa had a Press Conference and told the people of Karnataka that they are going to give a *ram rajya* in Karnataka, they are going to have such a good governance and they will do everything for the development of Karnataka. They will be giving priority to health, education, roads, infrastructure, and so on. What happened? Next day in the morning, they went to the House to show the strength on the floor of the House, whereas the Chief Minister, instead of showing the strength on the floor of the Hosue, declared that he was rushing to the Governor to tender his resignation. They showed this awkwardness. They held *dharnas* in front of Raj Bhavan and caused inconvenience to the people of Bangalore. They also created bad scenes. So, at the right time, the President has made this proclamation. I support dissolution of the Assembly in Karnataka and imposition of the President's rule in Karnataka. The people of Karnataka have been saved. With these words, I support this. Thank you.

श्री के०बी० शणप्पा: सर मैं एक मिनट के लिए बोलना चाहता हूं।

श्री उपसभापति: आपकी पार्टी से आपका नाम नहीं दिया गया था।

श्री के०बी० शणप्पा: मेरे जज्बात को आप जानते हैं।

श्री उपसभापति: जज्बात को जानता हूं लेकिन पार्टी की ओर से आपका नाम नहीं दिया गया था। मैंने आपको कहा कि आखिर में मैं आपको टाइम दूंगा।

DR. ABHISHEK MANU SINGHVI (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise at this late hour to speak on a subject on which several Members have spoken earlier, but the subject itself is so interesting, "Karnataka mein natak", that I am sure I should be able to hold your attention for about five or ten mintues. Sir, this is a play which has all the essential ingredients of a successful drama. It has tragedy, it has comedy, it has pathos, it has a huge amount of free entertainment..*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI AMAR SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): What is your role?

DR. ABHISHEK MANU SINGHVI: It has a villain. The only problem is it has no heroes ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI AMAR SINGH: What is your role in it?

DR. ABHISHEK MANU SINGHVI: I will tell you about our role. Our role is to scrupulously follow the text-book, but I will come to our role a little later. This is, Sir, a theatre of the absurd. This is a sordid saga and each of these words is not a mere adjective, but they have meaning. They have been made pregnant with meaning by the two principal dramatist personnel of that State. This is a sordid saga of corruption, mismanagement, opportunism, hypocrisy, unholy alliances, and, of course, above all, loot of the State. Sir, in a sense, it is a great victory for democracy; it is also a failure of democracy. It is a victory of democracy because we have, at least, now very shortly a corrective and, hopefully, we will go to the polls. But it is a failure in the sense that so long this kind of a farce could go on in the form of Government. It illustrates a naked lust for power. There is a Party, the Party whose former President spoke some time ago, whose righteous indignation is completely misplaced. There is a Party which saw the writing on the wall.

They knew the facts. They turned a Nelsonian blind eye to reality only because of their lust for power. They became an ostrich in the sand because they could not stay without power and their greed for power drove them into the so-called alliance.

My friend, Mr. Amar Singh, asked about our role. Well, let us tell him about our role. Our role is to point out from day one the inherently unstable nature of the proposed alliance, of the Government-formation process. We said, 'it cannot last; there is internal contradiction; it will not last.' And, we, therefore, as the Congress, said that the Government would be within its right to dissolve it and to go to the people. And, what did the Congress-led UPA Government do? The Congress-led UPA Government followed a textbook example of scrupulous morality to a fault. The scrupulous morality to a fault was that although there is a view that in law even under *Bommai,* it could have been dissolved then. It did not do so despite the obvious elements of inherent instability, and, therefore, we bent over backwards to give some time, if possible, even remotely possible, thereby, giving you, perhaps, the shortest-lived Government in South India, if that is of some satisfaction to the main Opposition of this House.

SHRI AMAR SINGH: What about Dave Gowda and Dharam Singh Alliance?

DR. ABHISHEK MANU SINGHVI: Mr. Amar Singh will not dictate the sequence of my speech. Permit me to speak in my own way. I will deal with them as well. You are the only one, perhaps, we will not deal with this time, but we will deal with all the other parties.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this is the theatre of the absurd for another reason. It is for the first time, probably, in constitutional history, in democratic history, that you have the concept

of collective responsibility turned over on its head.It is not only collective irresponsibility. It is collective irresponsibility with murder charges being traded in the Cabinet between none else than a Cabinet Minister and the Chief Minister. It is a case unprecedented in global parliamentary history of a sitting Minister trading corruption charges. It is a case unprecedented globally, not in India, not in Karnataka alone, of full-page advertisements by the two principal partners who are supposed to be in alliance in running a State, full-page advertisements, carrying out a campaign one against the other. Well, this is collective responsibility as per the definition of the BJP or the JD(S)! Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this naked lust for power, this ostrich-in-sand attitude, led the BJP to arrive in full form, full force with a Bharat for the remarriage. Unfortunately, for them, it is before the '*punervivah*', there was a '*talak*'. There was a divorce. All the beautiful dreams of honeymoon were shattered *(Interruptions)* Yes; Mr. Ahluwalia, you made a small mistake. You arrived with the *barat*, but you made a small omission. You forgot to take the consent of the bride. That is why, the dreams of the honeymoon were shattered before it began.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, my time is short. In the formulation 'JD(S)', all of us know now that the word 'S', is the biggest joke on the political firmament of this system. To say that they still practise secularism or believe in secularism, after all the shenanigans and all the acrobatics in the last few years, is truly a sad and tragic joke on this nation.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Article 356, of course, was made by our Constitution-framers to provide for a failure of constitutional machinery. But failure of constitutional machinery, I beg to submit, Sir, also includes gross extreme forms of misgovernance. There was nothing short of loot of the State going on and Article 356 has not come or rather dissolution has not come a day too early. I had this very strange example in this State which is again unheard of.The State is divided up as if by a legal contract. Since when have you heard that a State is divided up by a MoU? Our Indian Contract Act has so many provisions but the British never dreamt of it, the Indians never dreamt of it, to have a clause that the State's loot can be divided by a twelve-condition MoU, and if you don't sign the MoU, you must then go and break the Government or you must decide how to share the spoils of war. Each of the events, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, is unprecedented in parliamentary democracy; it is unheard of anywhere and only one word is suitable for these two parties, 'shame on them'. 'shame on their so-called principles', 'shame on their conduct,' 'shame on what they did in Karnataka for the last two years and the last few months'. Thank you, Sir.

श्री अमर सिंह: सर मैं अपने मित्र से पूर्ण रूप से सहमत हूं। लेकिन मैं एक सेकेंड में एक बात कहना चाहता हूं कि पूरे के पूरे विवरण में भारतीय जनता पार्टी और कांग्रेस ने एक दूसरे पर आरोप-प्रत्यारोप लगाये हैं। सर, मैं विनय से यह कहना चाहता हूं और यह सदन के सामने भी आना चाहिए कि दल-बदल की कहानी और गठबंधन की कहानी, चाहे यह घटिया था या स्तरहीन था, इसकी शुरुआत से धर्म सिंह जी कांग्रेस के मुख्य मंत्री बने, सबसे पहले उन्होंने देवगौड़ा का समर्थन लिया। इस पूरे प्रकरण में देवगौड़ा साहब ने इनका भी इस्तेमात किया और उनका भी इस्तेमाल किया।

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: When he said, 'government of loot', he must be speaking about the 20 months-experience of his government at the initial stage.

श्री के॰ बी॰ शणप्पा: उपसभापति जी, मैं आपको धन्यवाद देते हुए हुए चंद बातों को यहां पर रखना चाहता हूं, क्योंकि मैं कर्णाटक का हूं, मैंने तकरीबन 47 ईयर की राजकीय जिंदगी में आपको वहां देखा और आपने भी मुझे देखा। देवगौड़ा जी के बारे में, मैं नहीं बोलता हूं, क्योंकि वह बड़े आदमी हैं।

श्री उपसभापति: वह इस हाउस के मेम्बर भी नहीं हैं।

श्री के॰बी॰ शणप्पा: वह बड़े आदमी हैं, I am not criticising him. वर्ष 2004 के बाद में जो सरकारें बनी, it was the first Congress Government which was formed. वह opportunism नहीं था? बहुत से लोगों

ने यहां उसके बारे में बात कही कि यह सब पावर के लिए किया, मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि आपने 2004 में क्या सब कुछ पावर के लिए नहीं किया? आपको तो लोगों ने बाहर धकेल दिया था, आपको 65 सीटें मिली थीं और हम लोगों को 84 सीटें मिली थीं। We never ventured to form the Government but you had gone to meet Mr. Deve Gowda and his family and requested that you wanted the first Chief Minister of the State to be from your party and afterwards theirs. वह लोग रह गये, 20 महीने सरकार चली। आपका बड़ा अच्छा हनीमून रहा। उसके बाद में देवगौड़ा ने बोला नहीं, निकाल दो, निकल गये, तब कांग्रेस वालों के पेट में जलन हुई। आप हमारे बारे में क्यों बोलते हो, हमें भी गवर्नमेंट बनानी है। Do you mean to say that Whosoever has come here as a politician could do so without power?

श्री राजीव शुक्ल (महाराष्ट्र): एमओयू साइन करके। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री के॰बी॰ शणप्पा: नहीं हम पूछते हैं कि क्या यह आपका अनुभवी एलायेंस नहीं है? ...(**व्यवधान**)... Let me speak.

श्री उपसभापति: आप जल्दी खत्म कीजिए। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री के॰बी॰ शणप्पा: इतने लोग बोलें हैं, मैं उस राज्य का आदमी हूं, मुझे भी कुछ बोलना है। मेहरबानी करके आप मुझे दो मिनट का ज्यादा समय दे दीजिए। हम लोगों ने वहां गवर्नमेंट बनायी, 20 महीने तक हम लोगों ने उनका तहेदिल से साथ दिया। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

एक माननीय सदस्य: कांट्रेक्ट किया। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI K.B. SHANAPPA: If you wish to call it a contract, that is your choice. I don't wish to intervene. आप जो भी डेफिनेशन दीजिए that is your choice.

श्री एस॰एस॰ अहलुवालिया: जैसा कांट्रेक्ट आपने यूपीए से किया हुआ है। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री उपसभापति: ठीक है। आप बोलिए। आप बोलिए। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री के॰बी॰ शणप्पा: आप रहने दीजिए। ...(**व्यवधान**)... एक मिनट। ...(**व्यवधान**)... हमने बीस महीने तक ...(**व्यवधान**)... Sir, we gave a good Government. With Deputy Chief Minister and Chief Minister from our party, we have done a wonderful job there. मैं उसका पूरा ब्यौरा यहां पर नहीं देना चाहता हूं। लेकिन एक बात देश ने मान ली - प्राण जाए पर, प्रणय न जाए। इसकी पूरा देश तारीफ करता है। जेडी (एस) के हमारे साथियों ने बीजेपी के साथ क्या किया था, भाई हम लोग क्रिकेट की बैटिंग करते हैं, फील्डिंग नहीं करते, हमने उनसे कहा कि भाई आपने बैटिंग कर ली अब हमें बैटिंग कर लेने दो आप फील्डिंग करो। तब बाद में कांग्रेस के लोगो ने उसमें घुसर-फुसर शुरू कर दी कि अरे क्यों ऐसा करते हो। ...(**व्यवधान**)... I have always appreciated Shri Janardhana Poojary. वह कड़क बात करते हैं और बहुत सीधे-सीधे बात करते हैं। वह कांग्रेस के जेपीसीसी के दो बार प्रेजिडेंट रह चुके हैं। जैसे ही हमारी गवर्नमेंट गिरी, कांग्रेस की वर्किंग कमेटी की मीटिंग थी यह पेपर में आया है, इसकी मेरे पास कटिंग है चंद कांग्रेस वाले पीछे के दरवाजे से सरकार बनाने के लिए तैयार थे, क्या यह बात सही नहीं है? ...(**व्यवधान**)... जो कुछ नायडु साहब ने कहा क्या वह हकीकत नहीं है? आपने उस मीटिंग में जोर से उठकर खड़े होकर बोला। 'If anybody in this committee is trying to form the Government, I am the last one to support it'. Is it not a fact that you said so? It is in the paper. क्योंकि आपकी पार्टी सरकार बनाने की चिंता में थी। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: What are you talking? It is the Parliament. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI K.B. SHANAPPA: I am only supporting you. You took a stand then.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not here to ...*(Interruptions)*... Please don't ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: I was always for ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री उपसभापति: आप बैठ जाइये। आप बैठ जाइये। प्लीज सिट डाउन। शणप्पा जी, आप खत्म कीजिए।

श्री के०बी० शणप्पा: आज हम इस कगार पर खड़े हैं कि President's Rule is unavoidable ...*(Interruptions)*... **यह बात नहीं करनी कि इन्होंने** opportunism **किया, इन्होंने** opportunism **किया।** ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री उपसभापति: बहुत हो गया, अब आप बोलिए।

श्री के०बी० शणप्पा: मैं यहां पर लोगों के opportunism को निकालूं? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री उपसभापति: वह सब तो बोल दिया है। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री के०बी० शणप्पा: इन्होंने उल्टा-सीधा जवाब दिया है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... चलिए, जाने दीजिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री उपसभापति: अब आप अपनी बात पर आइए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... शुक्ला जी, आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI K.B. SHANAPPA: Let us go to the elections ...*(Interruptions)*... Then we will talk about the democracy...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री उपसभापति: ठीक है, thank you. Mr. Minister.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, it is not necessary for me to make a long reply to the debate. While moving the Resolution, I have made the points which are required to be brought to the notice of the House. Almost all Members have said that the Proclamation should be ratified. Some Members have gone to the extent of saying that the House should be dissolved. In view of these statements, I make no other points. I request that the Resolution may be put to vote and passed.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, please give me permission for one minute.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, the Minister has replied. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: Sir, serious allegations have been made by the BJP and Janata Dal stating that there was corruption. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Debate is over. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: I want CBI inquiry against these allegations. ...*(Interruptions)*... I want CBI inquiry against these allegations. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have been given opportunity to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*... Now, the hon. Minister has replied. ...*(Interruptions)*... It cannot be taken up again. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: The Government should commence the CBI inquiry. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The debate is over. Please sit down.

The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 20th November, 2007 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Karnataka."

The Motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, there is a Statement by hon. Minister, Shri Shriprakash Jaiswal.